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## EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of Texas, has been elected a member of the Board of Editors of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, to take the place of Dr. Isaac J. Cox, whose term of office has expired. Dr. Hackett is well known in historical ranks as one of the younger men in the Hispanic American field. He received his training at the University of Texas and at the University of California under Professor Herbert E. Bolton. He has done excellent work in research, both in connection with his university work and with Carnegie Institution of Washington. Dr. Hackett first brought to the attention of scholars of the United States, and with good evidence, the fact that Balbao was still living after the date on which his execution had been reported. Like all Professor Bolton's students, he believes in visiting the countries whose history he is teaching. The REVIEW considers itself fortunate in having his coöperation. Dr. Cox, the retiring editor, has an enviable record in the ranks of teachers of Hispanic American history, and has added materially by his writings to the materials at the command of students. Although his name, in accordance with the regulations governing the Board of Editors of this REVIEW, is taken off the cover page, the REVIEW is still assured of his help and advice.

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It is a pleasure to announce that Dr. Charles E. Chapman and Dr. William Spence Robertson, formerly members of the Board of Editors, have been elected Advisory Editors of the REVIEW. This is most fitting from every point of view, for, besides being scholars of international reputation, Professors Chapman and Robertson first suggested the founding of a quarterly review to

treat of Hispanic American history. To both, the REVIEW has been constantly indebted in many ways since its inception for help and advice.

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There was some fear, with the close of the last year, that THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW might have to cease publication. It is most gratifying to be able to state that it will still continue. The readers of this REVIEW doubtless know well that the expenses incident to its publication have been heavier than its income from subscriptions. The deficit has been generously subscribed by a friend of the enterprise.

In order that the REVIEW may continue to be published, it is hoped that those who are able will aid it by—

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It has been generally conceded that the REVIEW has made a place for itself. It must not fail for lack of material support.

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In this number of the REVIEW, Dr. Carlos M. Trelles, of Matanzas, Cuba, the authority on Cuban bibliography, writes an introduction to a Cuban bibliography of the Monroe Doctrine. It is understood that the actual list (which will not appear in the REVIEW) will be published somewhat later in Cuba.

In this number also begins a Chilean bibliography by Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt, of the University of North Carolina, which is the result of research work in Chile. Although Dr. Leavitt, calls it a "literary" bibliography, it has immense value historically, and is, in consequence, most suitable material for this REVIEW.

During, the course of the year, papers by scholars, not only of the United States, but of Hispanic America and Europe, will be published. The sections devoted to Book Reviews, Notes and Comment, and bibliographical Notes and Lists, will be continued. Readers are urged to send in material for Notes and Comment and for Bibliographical Notes.

J. A. R.



## THE TREATY OF TORDESILLAS AND THE ARGENTINE-BRAZILIAN BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

By the award of President Grover Cleveland, in 1895, was terminated the vexed Argentine-Brazilian boundary dispute, which had its origin in the treaty of Tordesillas more than four hundred years before. This was only one of several territorial controversies growing out of the ambiguous agreement between Spain and Portugal, but it was the most serious, and the last to be settled on the old southern frontier of the two rival powers in South America.

Jealousy of Spain as a result of the discoveries of Columbus was excited in the breast of John II. of Portugal even before the Admiral reached his home port after his first voyage; for unfavorable weather forced him to find shelter in a Portuguese harbor on his return trip, which led to an interview with King John, who thus learned of the result of Columbus's venture. The Portuguese king promptly claimed the newly-discovered lands, apparently basing his title upon a treaty made with Spain in 1479, which grew out of a grant of Pope Nicholas V. to Alfonso V. of Portugal, made in 1456.<sup>1</sup> This papal bull is especially interesting as it shows Prince Henry the Navigator's intention, thirty years before Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope, to send expeditions as far as India. The bull gave to the Portuguese sovereign not only all territory which might be discovered south of the capes of Bojador and Nam "through Guinea", but also all lands beyond the southern coast of Africa "as far as the Indians".

<sup>1</sup> Frances G. Davenport (ed.), *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies, to 1648*, pp. 33-48.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-33.

As "the land of the Indians", or the "Indies", was an indefinite term which applied to the whole region extending from east Africa to China and Japan, John II. seems to have thought that Columbus had visited these lands, merely following a different route from that in which Portugal had so long been interested.

Shortly after Columbus had reported to his sovereigns the results of his voyage, Ferdinand and Isabella instructed their ambassadors at Rome to obtain from the Pope a grant of the new lands. Such a grant was secured May 3, 1493, by means of two bulls, which gave to Spain all the territories discovered by Columbus, or which he hoped to discover, "lying towards the western parts and the ocean sea" not already possessed by any other Christian prince.<sup>3</sup> And on May 4, within a few hours after these two grants, the Pope issued an additional bull qualifying and explaining the preceding ones. This last document, couched in vague, contradictory half Latin, half Spanish terms, proclaimed the famous papal line of demarcation, which gave Spain all territory to the west of a meridian one hundred leagues to the west and south of the Azores and Cape Verde.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the Cape and the Azores islands were many degrees apart appears to have been overlooked by the Pope and his advisers, or ignored by them. Contrary to the common view, this line was not proclaimed as a result of a protest from Portugal, for that nation would have in no wise been satisfied with such a division. Rather, the papal line appears to have been the result of specific instructions from the Catholic Sovereigns to their ambassadors at Rome to secure for Spain all lands to the west of Cape Verde and the Azores.<sup>5</sup> Pope Alexander VI. was a Spaniard and a personal friend of Ferdinand and was inclined to favor Spain;<sup>6</sup> but, in order to protect the territories granted

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-70.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-79.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Harris, *The Diplomatic History of America: its First Chapter*, pp. 31-35.

<sup>6</sup> Davenport, *Treaties*, p. 56.



to Portugal by earlier bulls, he appears to have been induced by his scientific advisers to move the line desired by Spain one hundred leagues to the west.<sup>7</sup>

Portugal, since it claimed about a third of the world, including the lands discovered by Columbus, was much displeased by the arrangement secured by its rival, and was planning to make good its pretensions by resort to forcible measures when Spain suggested that a conference be held at which the conflicting claims could be discussed.<sup>8</sup> Out of this suggestion grew the long-lived and troublesome treaty of Tordesillas, of 1494. This agreement made no mention of preceding papal grants or divisions, and simply stipulated that in the Atlantic there should be drawn from pole to pole a division line three hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the Cape Verde Islands, the lands to the west of which should belong to Spain, and those to the east, to Portugal. The treaty further provided that within ten months a joint expedition of the two countries should sail westward the stipulated distance from the Cape Verde Islands and, commencing either at the north or the south, mark the distance in degrees or leagues, according to which should prove most convenient; and where the line cut the land—if such cut should take place—a tower of demarcation should be erected.<sup>9</sup>

Ferdinand and Isabella instructed Columbus to be responsible for putting the demarcation provisions of the treaty into effect in behalf of Spain; and told him to head the Spanish expedition himself, if possible. But the demarcation never progressed beyond the theoretical stage, for in the year following, 1495, the two interested governments formally agreed to postpone sending out the joint expedition, in order to have its work preceded by a discussion of the fixing of the line by a conference of experts. But in the mean time, the Spanish government instructed, the demarcation line was to be put on all sailing charts. None of these things was done, however: the experts

<sup>7</sup> HARRISSE, *Diplomatic History*, p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-70.

<sup>9</sup> DAVENPORT, *Treaties*, pp. 84-100.

never met; the expedition never sailed; and the division line was not even placed upon the maps.<sup>10</sup> Not until 1512 do we find any mention of as much as an attempt to execute any of the stipulations of the treaty made seventeen years before.<sup>11</sup>

Various influences contributed to this neglect, but perhaps the most important was the fact that before the flag of Portugal was unfurled upon the coast of South America—the only part of the New World that could possibly come to that kingdom by the terms of the treaty of Tordesillas—Vasco da Gama's expedition had reached the East Indies and Portuguese interest in that part of the world had been deeply roused. Furthermore, the terms of the treaty were confusing. Though the Cape Verde Archipelago is nearly three degrees wide, the arrangement made at Tordesillas failed to state whether the three hundred and seventy leagues should be marked from the easternmost, the westernmost, or the central island of the group. The famous cartographer, Ferrer, whom the Catholic Sovereigns consulted felt that the central island should be the point of departure, but it seems pretty certain that if the two nations had seriously discussed this point at the time, Portugal would have insisted upon starting from the island farthest west.<sup>12</sup>

But this question was perhaps not as fruitful of trouble as was the uncertainty as to the length of the degree on the equator, regarding which there was much difference of opinion among scientists; for the method of reckoning longitude was at the time very crude and faulty, and there was little agreement as to the distance around the earth. There was even lack of agreement regarding the length of the marine league.<sup>13</sup>

Such were some of the most important difficulties which would have confronted the rival nations had they set earnestly about fulfilling the terms of the treaty promptly after its formation. HARRISSE is of the opinion, however, from a study of the situa-

<sup>10</sup> HARRISSE, *Diplomatic History*, pp. 80-83.

<sup>11</sup> DAVENPORT, *Treaties*, p. 101.

<sup>12</sup> HARRISSE, *Diplomatic History*, pp. 91-94.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94, 152.



tion of the line on Spanish and Portuguese maps that both nations believed the true position of the line to be near the Amazon River, but to the east of it.<sup>14</sup> This would throw it slightly to the west of Rio de Janeiro in the south, and in the neighborhood of the Brazilian city of São Paulo.

Magellan's voyage, which gave Spain a western route to the Spice Islands and a hold upon the Philippines, stimulated new interest in the treaty of Tordesillas, through emphasizing the fact that the boundary line for which it provided should bisect the antipodes and encircle the globe. Discussion with this in view followed. Spain now argued that the point of departure in measuring the three hundred and seventy leagues should be the easternmost of the Cape Verde Islands; and Portugal, on its side, was torn between two ambitions; for it realized that the farther the line was extended west in the New World the smaller the area in the rich commercial field which it was exploiting in the orient could it call its own. Portugal could not decide between Brazil and the Moluccas, and, therefore, the treaty of Zaragoza which was finally drawn up between Spain and Portugal in 1529 provided only for demarcation in the orient. Here, the line of division between the two powers was placed two hundred and ninety-seven and a half leagues, or seventeen degrees, east of the Moluccas, which shut Spain out of the Philippines, as well; but by way of compensation Portugal agreed to pay Spain three hundred and fifty thousand ducats in gold.<sup>15</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that if this division line fixed for the antipodes had been made to encircle the globe, it would have shut Portugal entirely out of the New World.

As it was, the failure of the rival colonial powers to reach an agreement regarding it caused the final delimitation in the west to be determined primarily by events in the New World. During the first half of the sixteenth century the Spaniards were especially active in South America, while the Portuguese devoted most of their energy to exploiting their extensive holdings in the orient; and several grants made to adventurers show that

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>15</sup> Davenport, *Treaties*, pp. 169-199.

Spain considered itself entitled to approximately all territory lying to the west of the meridian passing just to the east of the right mouth of the Amazon. These cessions were made in the southern part of the Spanish-Portuguese frontier, for this region was more attractive than lands farther north, due to a more moderate climate, and took in virtually the whole of the present Brazilian territory lying in the south temperate zone. Broadly speaking, their northern limit would be marked by a line connecting Asunción and Cananea, where a Spanish fort once stood.<sup>16</sup>

However, only one of the grantees did much towards making good the Spanish claims, and this was Alvear Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, who, in 1540-41, landed on the Brazilian coast at Santa Catharina and marched westward into the interior, to Asunción, recently founded by Iralá. The route of Cabeza de Vaca seems to have been occasionally employed for a few years subsequently by other Spaniards desiring to get into the interior. But after the founding of Santa Fé, in 1573, and especially after Buenos Aires and Corrientes had been established, in the 1580's, the Plata River became the doorway to the interior, and the dimly marked overland route fell into disuse.<sup>17</sup>

But during the years when the Plata and its tributaries were becoming the highway into the great basin of the continent, and for a long period following, Spain's policy, due to the Armada disaster, the trouble with Flanders, and the union with Portugal, was less aggressive in the New World than formerly. The Indians in the regions drained by the Paraná and Uruguay rivers were left to the ministrations of the Jesuits, who, while pacifying the aborigines, extended the possessions of the Spanish Crown. During the first three decades of the seventeenth century the members of the Society of Jesus made great progress, establishing a large number of missions.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Carlos A. Aldao, *La Cuestión de Misiones*, pp. 40-52.

<sup>17</sup> *Alegato de la República Argentina sobre la Cuestión de Límites con el Brasil en el Territorio de Misiones, sometida al Presidente de los Estados Unidos*, p. 50.

<sup>18</sup> Aldao, *Misiones*, pp. 70-71.



But these hieratic communities did not long escape the attacks of the Paulistas, the bold, restless adventurers from the Brazilian state of São Paulo, who, with the contempt for aboriginal rights characterizing the frontiersmen of the North American west, defied alike royal orders and papal bulls and pressed deeper and ever deeper into the heart of the continent in search of mineral wealth and Indian slaves. The docile, pastoral Guaranies of the Jesuit reductions proved a great temptation, and many thousands of them were carried off by the Paulistas within a few years,<sup>19</sup> causing the Jesuits to abandon Guayrá as a mission field in the 1630's, and to flee down the River Uruguay with their helpless charges. But towards the close of the century the Jesuits reestablished themselves to the east of the Uruguay and built seven mission stations; and here they remained, for the Paulistas were now somewhat diverted from their slave-hunting by the discovery of rich mines in the interior of Brazil.

Naturally, the Portuguese were desirous of securing a frontage upon the Plata River, and during the period of union with Spain, when the question of boundaries was not vital, the settlers of Southern Brazil made the most of their opportunity. In fact, the Paulistas justified their attacks upon the reductions by the statement that these were established upon Portuguese soil.<sup>20</sup> The treaty of 1668 by which Spain recognized Portuguese independence made no mention of territorial limits in America, thus leaving the way open for Portugal to make good its claim. Encouraged by the weakness of Spain and the friendliness of England, it proceeded to do so, in 1679, by establishing Colonia de Sacramento on the north shore of the Plata. The settlement was promptly captured by Spain, but was soon recovered, and in the next few decades it changed hands several times, but by the treaty made at Utrecht, in 1713, Colonia, "with its territory" was restored to Portugal. Subsequently, open war between the governors of Colonia and Buenos Aires took place because the latter, after the ratification of the treaty, returned

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Southey, *History of Brazil*, II. 578.

only the fortress and the land within cannon shot of it; and after an indecisive conflict Colonia was still in control of the Portuguese.<sup>21</sup>

With the accession of Ferdinand VI. to the Spanish throne, in 1746, relations between the two countries greatly improved, for Ferdinand's queen was Barbara of Braganza, daughter of John V. of Portugal, and Barbara did her utmost to establish a real friendship between Spain and Portugal. The "treaty of exchange", of 1750, was largely the result of her efforts, supported and encouraged by Keene, the English ambassador.<sup>22</sup> This document recognized that Spain, through establishing itself in the Philippines, in the late sixteenth century, had violated the treaty of Zaragoza, while Portugal had exceeded the Tordesillas line in the western world; and admitted that it was impossible to maintain the Tordesillas agreement. Hence, all claims founded upon that treaty were definitely annulled, and it was agreed that each country should remain in possession of what it now held, except for certain reciprocal cessions. Portugal pledged itself to surrender Colonia and the territory which it claimed on the west bank of the Amazon, and to renounce its pretensions to the Philippine Islands and some other controversial claims in the orient; in return for which Spain agreed to recognize the remaining Portuguese possessions in the New World and to turn over to its neighbor the Seven Reductions established on the left bank of the Uruguay.

It is interesting to note that the territory in the New World which Portugal was to secure by this treaty was—thanks to Brazilian, and especially Paulista, aggressiveness—several times as extensive as that to which it would have been entitled under its own interpretation of the treaty of Tordesillas. Even the region held by Portugal in southern Brazil to the south and west of where the line would have cut was larger than the whole area which would have become Portugal's share through falling to the east of the line.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 286.

<sup>22</sup> Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España*, IV. 59.



The division line between the colonial possessions, the treaty stated, was to be demarcated by a special joint commission, and was, as far as possible, to be a natural one. The boundary was described in detail, the portion of the treaty bearing most closely upon this present study reading as follows:

From the mouth of the Ibicui, the line shall run up the course of the Uruguay until reaching the river Pepiri, or Pequiri, which empties itself by the western bank of the Uruguay; and it shall continue up the bed of the Pepiri as far as the principal source thereof; from which it shall follow along the highest ground to the principal head of the nearest river that may flow into the Rio Grande de Curituba, otherwise named Iguacú. The boundary shall continue along the bed of the said river nearest to the source of the Pepiri, and, afterwards, along that of the Iguacú, or Rio Grande de Curituba, until the point where the same Iguacú empties itself by the eastern bank of the Paraná, to the point where the Igurey joins it on its western bank.<sup>23</sup>

However, there was delay in putting the treaty into effect, and when the Spanish commissioner, the Marquis de Valdelirios, reached South America, in 1752, he found great local opposition to its execution. Though there was some objection in Colonia to the transfer, the opposition to handing over the Seven Reductions to Portugal was much stronger. Petitions from various Spanish lay and ecclesiastical officers opposing the change were presented to Valdelirios upon his arrival. Valdelirios, nevertheless, proceeded to cooperate with Gomez Freyre, governor of Rio Janeiro, the representative of Portugal, in carrying out the treaty terms; and when the Guaranies of the Reductions in question, abetted and supported by the Jesuits, took up arms in defense of their rights, Spanish military forces joined with those of Portugal and broke the resistance.<sup>24</sup> But this Guaranítica War, which ended in 1756, caused further delay; and after the resistance of the Indians was broken, the two com-

<sup>23</sup> Statement submitted by the United States of Brazil to the President of the United States as Arbitrator under the Provisions of the Treaty concluded September 7, 1889, vol. III. (Documents), 3-23.

<sup>24</sup> Tadeás Xavier Henis, *Diario histórico de la Rebelión y Guerra de los Pueblos Guaranies*.

missioners showed only a half-hearted interest in carrying out the exchange provisions and in demarcating the boundary.<sup>25</sup>

In the mother countries, meanwhile, indifference, and even opposition, to the treaty had developed. Charles, King of Naples, brother of Ferdinand VI., learning of the treaty from the Spanish minister—the Marquis de Ensenada, who was unfriendly to it—protested vigorously to Ferdinand against the agreement; and this stimulated the feeling which was growing in Spain that Barbara had sacrificed Spanish interests to those of her native country. In 1758, Queen Barbara died, and within a twelve-month grief over her loss had carried off the king, who was succeeded by his brother Charles of Naples, the enemy of the treaty. In Portugal, a change of sentiment had appeared with the accession of Joseph, who succeeded his father, John V., within a few months after the treaty of exchange had been ratified; and this was accentuated by the demoralization and financial loss from the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, the persecution of the Jesuits, and the attempt to assassinate the king; but, perhaps, especially by the fact that the support of the Portuguese commission was causing an excessive drain on the royal treasury.<sup>26</sup>

Accordingly, satisfaction was mutual when, in 1761, a new treaty was adopted for the express purpose of annulling that of 1750.<sup>27</sup>

But before the annulment was effected considerable work had been done by the demarcation commissioners provided for by the treaty of 1750. The commission had been made up of three divisions, and the first, because of the armed resistance of the Guaranies, had accomplished nothing; but the other two proceeded with but little trouble and accomplished their tasks. It is with the labors of the second division, completed in 1759, that this study is especially concerned. This demarcation party chose for its point of departure into the little-known region to be surveyed San Xavier, the Spanish mission nearest to the frontier, and took along several Guaranies, one of whom, Francis

<sup>25</sup> Southey, *Brazil*, III. 502.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, III. (Documents), 77-80.



Xavier Arirapy, had seen the Pepiry—or Pepiri, or Pequiry—River, which, the treaty stipulated, should form part of the boundary. The joint party proceeded up the Uruguay until reaching a small tributary entering from the north which Arirapy identified as the Pepiry. At first the Spanish commissioner was unwilling to accept the statement of the guide, because the stream seemed too small and its location did not coincide with that given on the special map with which the commission had been supplied; but after the party had, at his request, proceeded farther up the Uruguay, he declared himself satisfied that the river identified by Arirapy was the stream named in the boundary treaty.<sup>28</sup> The latitude taken at the river was  $27^{\circ} 9' 23''$ , but conditions were unfavorable for securing measurements of longitude.<sup>29</sup>

Due to shortage of food supplies and other handicaps, the expedition did not explore the Pepiry to its source, but, instead, returned and proceeded up the Paraná to the Iguazú, and continued along the latter till reaching a southern tributary to which they gave the same San Antonio. After exploring this stream, they decided that its headwaters could not be far from those of the Pepiry, and, consequently, they surveyed it and placed the demarcation line along its borders, and connected this line with the headwaters of a river rising opposite, which they believed to be the Pepiry.<sup>30</sup>

Since the treaty giving origin to it was annulled two years after the work of the commission was ended, the results of its

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 88-92. The Spanish commissioner had been doubtful because the latitude and position of the river identified by the guide did not agree with those given on the map issued by the courts of the two governments for the use of the expedition. But, upon proceeding farther up the Uruguay, he found that other statements made by Arirapy were borne out by his own observations. And, furthermore, he discovered that the map of the courts—which the commission had been instructed to ignore if it failed to agree with the facts—was in conflict with some of the maps made by the Jesuits who had some acquaintance with the region; and that these Jesuit maps supported the statements of the guide.—*Ibid.*, pp. 86-88.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101-109. The headwaters, as was proven by a later commission, were not those of the Pepiry but of a stream flowing into the Paraná.

labors were of no immediate significance; but both the treaty and the report of the commission were of the greatest importance in the final settlement of the boundary controversy between Brazil and Argentina a century and a half later; and, therefore, their results should be borne in mind.

In the conflicts between Spain and Portugal, which followed the accession of Charles III. bad feeling was reflected in the colonies by repeated attacks on Colonia. When the treaty of San Ildefonso was made between the two countries, in 1777, the place was in control of Spain, which was permitted by treaty to keep it. Portugal now definitely gave up its claim on the Philippine Islands also. By the treaty, the two countries again agreed to appoint a joint commission for the demarcation of their colonial boundary, which, in the middle portion, was to be the Pepiry-Guazú,<sup>31</sup> or Pequiry, and the San Antonio, as provided by the annulled treaty of 1750.<sup>32</sup>

The commission provided for was sent out belatedly in 1788. And though thirty years had elapsed since the first joint survey had been made, the frontier in question was still a wilderness and the rivers mentioned in the treaty were declared by the joint instructions of the Spanish and Portuguese courts to be distant from all settlements that could give aid to the commissioners.<sup>33</sup> After some difficulty, the party found and marked with a copper plate the river identified by the commission of 1759 as the Pepiry, and also found and identified the San Antonio.<sup>34</sup> But, in 1790, after this had been accomplished, Varela, the Spanish commissioner, made the assertion that the preceding commission had made a mistake in the stream that it had identified as the Pepiry, and declared that the true Pepiry was a more copious river found two years before, in 1788, by Gundin, the Spanish geographer, sixteen leagues to the east of the Pepiry

<sup>31</sup> *Guaçú*, or *Guazú*, is a Guarany word meaning great, or large, and was applied to the Pepiry shortly after the first commission had completed its work, evidently to distinguish that river from some smaller stream of the same name.

<sup>32</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, III. (Documents), 89-90.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 210-212; Diego de Alvear, "Diario de la Segunda Partida de Limites en la America Meridional," in *Anales de la Biblioteca*, III. 402-459.



of the commission of 1759. Hot discussion followed between the chief commissioners, but a joint survey of the stream discovered by Gundin was finally made.<sup>35</sup> Subsequently, Varela instructed Oyárvide, another Spanish geographer, to look for another river whose headwaters could be connected with those of the stream of Gundin, explaining that the existence of such a river might induce the two governments to choose it for a boundary instead of the San Antonio.<sup>36</sup> Oyárvide followed instructions and, in June, 1791, found the stream desired and called it the San Antonio-Guazú.<sup>37</sup> The Portuguese commissioner, and his government, however, refused to accept such a decision, and the boundary was again left unsettled.

Spain was soon afterwards deeply embarrassed by the wars following the French Revolution, and Portugal joyfully seized the opportunity to score against its old rival in South America. The mission Indians had, following the Guaranítica War and the expulsion of the Jesuits, been ruled directly by a Spanish royal governor who oppressed them sorely. Hence, when the Portuguese governor of Rio Grande took up arms against the region in 1801 he found the aborigines quite ready to desert to the old enemy, and soon they were under Brazilian jurisdiction.<sup>38</sup> The treaty of Badajoz—made the same year—which established peace between Spain and Portugal in the Old World and the New was based upon the principle of mutual restoration and compensation, but as no special mention was made

<sup>35</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, I. 210-211. Alvear, the Spanish commissioner, called attention to the fact that the Pepiry was located on the map of the courts above the mouth of the Uruguay-Pitá River; and stated in a letter to Roscio, his Portuguese associate, that this Pepiry had been found "with the features that characterize it, of being full-flowing, and having a wooded island opposite its mouth, and a large reef within its mouth". Thus he applied to the Pepiry of the treaty of 1750 the characteristics of the river discovered in 1788, and insinuated that in 1759 the Pepiry was known by these features. From this foundation grew definite assertions by Spain at a later date that the instructions to the commissioners of 1759 contained such a description of the river; and these assertions were also used by Argentina in the arguments by which it supported its claim to a boundary line following the river discovered by Gundin.—*Ibid.*, pp. 64-67.

<sup>36</sup> Alvear, "Diario," in *Anales*, III. 436-457.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 459.

<sup>38</sup> Southey, *Brazil*, III. 687-688.

of the Seven Reductions, Portugal failed to give them up; and all subsequent efforts of Spain to make it do so were in vain.<sup>39</sup>

When, in 1808, the Braganza family fled to Brazil before the armies of Napoleon, special advantages for encroachment were offered Portugal; for soon revolt against Joseph Bonaparte and in favor of independence took place in Argentina, and Brazilian troops were sent into the Misiones district under pretext of keeping order. Continued dissensions at Buenos Aires enabled Brazil to seize the whole region to the east of the Uruguay River and incorporate it as the Provincia Cisplatina; but war between Brazil and Argentina took place over the region, as a result of which, in 1828, that long debatable ground was made the independent republic of Uruguay with a frontage on the Plata; and thus a long stretch of the frontier between Brazil and Argentina was removed as a bone of contention between the two countries.<sup>40</sup> Likewise, during the struggle for independence in Spanish America Paraguay freed itself from jurisdiction of Buenos Aires.<sup>41</sup> Thus, early in the nineteenth century the boundary dispute between Brazil and Argentina was reduced to the narrow strip of the old frontier lying between the Uruguay and the Iguazú rivers; and in this region, Brazil, blessed with comparative peace and order under the Empire, proceeded to establish itself, while Argentina was distracted by civil wars and the tyranny of Rosas's rule. It seems impossible from available evidence to determine when the first permanent Brazilian settlers went into the territory in dispute, but a few isolated ones were already there in 1838, when the colony of Campo de Palmas was founded by the Brazilian state of São Paulo; and other colonies soon followed.<sup>42</sup>

In 1857, after Rosas had been overthrown with the aid of Brazil and Urquiza was at the head of the Argentine government, a treaty was drawn up between the two countries which

<sup>39</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, I. 7-11; *La Frontera Argentino-Brasileña*, II. 98-102.

<sup>40</sup> By treaties made between Brazil and Uruguay in 1851 and 1852 a common boundary line was agreed upon. João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil*, pp. 457-458.

<sup>41</sup> Paraguay's boundary disputes with Argentina and Brasil were settled after the Paraguayan War.

<sup>42</sup> *Alegato: Argentina*, pp. 275-276; *Statement: Brazil*, I. 253.



fixed the boundary between them as the rivers Pepiry and San Antonio identified and named by the commission of 1759. However, before the agreement could be submitted to the Argentine congress<sup>43</sup> the personnel of that body was changed, with the result that congressional approval carried with it the stipulation that the rivers called Pepiry and San Antonio by the com-



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mission of 1789 be accepted as the boundary line. But to this Brazil would not consent, and the agreement was never adopted.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> It was understood by the Argentine government that if Argentina ratified the treaty Brazil would give Urquiza moral and material aid towards bringing about the incorporation of the refractory province of Buenos Aires with the Republic.—*Statement: Brazil*, III. (Documents), 174.

<sup>44</sup> *Alegato: Argentina*, pp. 82, 176.

Soon after this futile attempt Brazil began building a road across the disputed territory—which at the time formed the judicial district of Palmas in the state of Paraná—to Corrientes, and displayed other signs of proprietorship; whereupon Argentina, now stronger and more certain of itself, protested and prepared for war.<sup>46</sup> But the insane insolence of the Paraguayan dictator, Lopez, temporarily removed all danger of hostilities over the old boundary dispute, and, instead, brought Brazil and Argentina into a military alliance with Uruguay against Paraguay. Nevertheless, as soon as the Paraguayan War had terminated, bad feeling over the so-called “Misiones boundary question” became more acute than before; and in 1876 discussion with a view to settlement was again begun, but, as no basis of agreement could be reached, the matter was once more dropped.<sup>46</sup>

In conformity with a plan which seems to have been projected as early as 1859, Brazil, in 1880, took steps towards the establishment of two military colonies—ostensibly for protecting the frontier against Indians—to the west of the rivers Chapeco and Chopim—streams which the Argentine government had come to identify with the Pepiry and the San Antonio of the commission of 1789. A strip of land ten leagues wide, the imperial decree stated, was to be set aside on the east banks of the San Antonio and the Pepiry—of the commission of 1759—for cultivation by military colonists.<sup>47</sup> The following year the colonizing expedition was sent out;<sup>48</sup> but the Argentine government, learning of the plan through the press, protested against it on the ground that the territory of Argentina extended as far east as the Chapeco and the Chopim rivers.<sup>49</sup> Presumably because of the resentment displayed by Argentina, the Brazilian government—now timid because of the internal troubles which soon led to the overthrow of the Empire—ordered the military colonies to withdraw from the frontier and to settle to the east of the disputed territory; and this relieved the mind of Argentina for a brief

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>48</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, I. 247-251.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>48</sup> *Argument for the Argentine Republic*, I. 617.

<sup>49</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, I. 251.



period. Soon afterwards, however—probably goaded into a more aggressive policy by the attacks of the parliamentary opposition led by Baron de Cotegipe—the imperial government gave orders for the soldiers to advance into the very heart of the area in dispute; and the military settlements of Santa Ana and Campo Eré were, accordingly, founded.<sup>50</sup>

Argentina had long claimed the disputed territory as part of the Misiones district, which for many years was administered by the state of Corrientes; but, in 1881, urged by Brazilian activity in the region, the Argentine government created the Misiones into a separate territory, thus bringing it directly under federal control.<sup>51</sup> This action in turn roused the Brazilian government to propose that negotiations be opened for the definite settlement of the boundary disagreement. Argentina expressed its willingness, whereupon Brazil suggested that the unratified convention of 1857 be used as a basis, and that in the agreement a definition of the rivers Pepiry and San Antonio as the streams demarcated by the Spanish-Portuguese joint commission of 1759 be inserted. But Argentina refused, as before, and held out for the acceptance of the line along the rivers demarcated farther east by the commission of 1789.<sup>52</sup> Brazil would not agree to this, but proposed that a new joint commission be appointed to survey the four rivers bounding the disputed area. Argentina consented, a treaty with this in view was made in 1885, and between the years 1887 and 1890 such a survey was made.<sup>53</sup>

The group of men sent out jointly by Brazil and Argentina made the first comprehensive survey of the long-disputed region, and revealed the fact that the river explored by the Spaniard Oyárvide in 1791 and called by him the San Antonio was not, as the Argentines had hitherto supposed, the stream known to the Brazilians as the Chopim, but one farther east and called in Brazil the Jangada.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Alegato: Argentina*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>51</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, I. 265.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, III. (Documents), 181-189.

<sup>54</sup> *La Frontera Argentino-Brasileña*, I. 412-518; *Statement: Brazil*, I. 271-273.

Some time before the work of the commission was completed, however, the Argentine government suggested that the disputed territory be divided by a geometrical mean line, the expense of surveying to be shared equally. But Brazil refused to consider such a settlement and urged arbitration instead, should direct agreement prove impossible. And though Argentina was at first little inclined to risk its claims to a third party, a treaty was signed at Buenos Aires, September 7, 1889, which provided that should the ownership of the territory in dispute not be settled within ninety days following the report of surveys of the joint



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boundary commission to their governments, the question should be submitted to arbitration. Ratification of the agreement took place promptly.<sup>55</sup> But a few days following this the Brazilian Empire fell and the republic was proclaimed.

This revolution changed the face of the situation, for the dominant party in Argentina had shown much friendship for the anti-imperialists, and the Argentine government was the first to recognize and welcome the new republic.<sup>56</sup> The weak provisional government of Brazil, fearing to jeopardize its position

<sup>55</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, I. 274.

<sup>56</sup> *Alegato: Argentina*, pp. 199-200.



and add to the chaos at home by incurring the enmity of Argentina through a firm stand on the boundary dispute, decided to settle the dispute "to the best interests of the nation", and on January 25, 1890, a treaty was made at Montevideo, providing for the division of the contested territory by a mean line.<sup>57</sup> The partition agreement seems to have met with general favor in Argentina, but in Brazil a large element denounced and bewailed it; and one of the leaders of the opposition grimly declared that finally the territory of Palmas had "undergone the great test of the judgment of Solomon". A special committee of the Brazilian government appointed to study the treaty of Montevideo reported in favor of rejection of the agreement, and its recommendation was indorsed by the Brazilian congress, August 10, 1891, by a vote of one hundred and forty-two ayes to five naves.<sup>58</sup>

This action threw the two governments back upon the treaty of arbitration, which had specifically mentioned the president of the United States as arbitrator. President Grover Cleveland accepted the task, and, as provided by the treaty, within the following year the two contestants filed at Washington the evidence in support of their respective claims. In the Argentine argument stress was laid upon the fact that the territory in dispute was far to the west of the Tordesillas line, and that it was first traversed and formally claimed by Spaniards; it declared that the commissioners of 1759, on whose work Brazil largely based its claim, had disobeyed instructions and selected as its boundary a river which did not correspond with the evidence provided in their instructions;<sup>59</sup> that the commission of 1789 had corrected the error through finding the real Pepiry River; and that the territory had been first settled by Spain and had been occupied by Spain and then by its heir, Argentina, continuously down to the present.<sup>60</sup> Brazil, on its part, contended that the line described by the treaty of Tordesillas had never

<sup>57</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, III. (Documents), 201-203.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 274-276; III. 211.

<sup>59</sup> Argentina weakened its case through making use of incorrect statements made by Spain a century earlier. See above, note 35.

<sup>60</sup> *Alegato: Argentina*.

been demarcated; that the demarcation of 1759-60 had been made in conformity with the annulled treaty of 1750, which was the basis of the treaty of 1777, and with the instructions drawn up for its execution, as well as with the local tradition and the maps published by the Jesuits who had lived near the region in dispute; that the rivers claimed as the boundary by Argentina as a result of the report of the Spanish members of the commission of 1789 were too far east to correspond with the evidence supplied by the documents used as basis for the Treaty of 1750; and it showed conclusively that Spain had not only never occupied the territory actually in dispute, but that Argentina had not done so and—as the map made by the recent Brazilian-Argentine commission showed—it did not even occupy the territory now; while, as the survey of the same commission made clear, of the 5,793 inhabitants of the region, 5,763 were Brazilians—the remaining thirty being aliens, not Argentines.<sup>61</sup>

The arbitration treaty had stipulated that the arbitrator should be asked simply to study the evidence which should be submitted and from it render an award in favor of the one country or the other—in favor of the Pepiry and San Antonio line of the commission of 1759 or the Jangada (San Antonio-Guazú) and Chapecó (Pepiry-Guazu) claimed by Argentine on the basis of the statements of the Spanish commissioners of 1789. Cleveland's award, rendered February 5, 1895, was in favor of the contentions of Brazil, and named the westernmost two rivers as the boundary between the republics.<sup>62</sup> This decision gave the victor an extensive fertile area covering nearly twelve hundred square miles.<sup>63</sup> By the arbitration treaty the two governments had also agreed that whatever award was given should be regarded as definitive and obligatory, and nothing was to be alleged as a reason for its non-fulfillment; and, though there were hostile sputterings from part of the press of the country, the Argentine government loyally accepted the adverse decision. In reply

<sup>61</sup> *Statement: Brazil.*

<sup>62</sup> *The Misiones Award* (Special Bulletin Bureau of American Republics), pp. 3-4.

<sup>63</sup> *Statement: Brazil*, I. 3.



to a communication from the president of Brazil, President Uriburú of Argentina sent the following telegram:

Both peoples have the honor of showing to the world a practical application of the principle of international arbitration, and the Argentine nation, although not favored in the decision of the high judge to whom the solution of the ancient controversy was entrusted, congratulates itself on the disappearance of the only possible cause of dissension with its former ally, with which its constant desire is to bind closer its relations with the ties of friendship and common interest.<sup>64</sup>

A few years subsequently a joint commission of the two governments surveyed the boundary line and marked it plainly with permanent monuments of masonry. No hint of discord appears to have risen between the commissioners in connection with their labors; and in 1904 their work was completed and approved by the governments concerned.<sup>65</sup> Thus was eliminated the last chance for a hitch over the boundary settlement between the two neighboring nations.

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<sup>64</sup> *Misiones Award*, p. 16.

<sup>65</sup> *La Frontera Argentino-Brasileña*, *passim*.

## NEW CONSTITUTIONAL TENDENCIES IN HISPANIC AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

There exists, and every student of political subjects may easily remark it, a sort of contrast between the newest constitutional tendencies in Latin America and the public methods followed in the countries belonging to this same ethnical group, more properly called "Hispanic" or rather "Iberian" America. In these countries, circumstances—as in the United States—have been conspiring in favor of the strengthening of the influence of the executive power, whilst their fundamental laws are trying to devise further guarantees on behalf of the independence of the legislative assemblies as chiefly embodying popular will through their respective majorities.

The American constitution even originally endowed the federal senate with a sort, we may say, of active participation in the functions of the executive, which could never be eliminated, and quite recently reaffirmed itself in a conspicuous manner. Such a political tradition represents a barrier against possible presidential encroachments, at least in that which concerns the management of foreign relations, which is missing in other political organizations where foreign policy is exclusively molded by the president, not to speak of domestic policy.

Treaties, it is true, are once signed, subject to the approval of congress, but congress is, in fact, a stranger to their making, or better, the spirit of their making. Again, as regards internal affairs, we meet, in the most advanced of the Hispanic American countries, with frequent interventions of the federal authority in the provinces, under pretext of safeguarding institutions—as happens regularly in the Argentine Republic—and with an ill-disguised meddling by the president in the composition of every

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the meeting of the American Bar Association in Cincinnati, August-September, 1921, Section of Comparative Law.

new congress, in adjusting the electoral results at his own pleasure or convenience, although these are not always the expression of the truth but rather of official pressure.

Hamilton conceived in his time of a strong executive in order to prevent national dissolution, but he certainly did not foresee, when framing his constitutional statute, the military or civil dictators of our continent. These dictators have finished by frightening our political communities to such an extent that the new constitutions of Mexico and Peru exclude all officers in active service or previous revolutionary leaders from entering upon the functions of president.

The French, however, are accustomed to say "*il y a avec le ciel des accommodements*." If this is true, there must certainly be also *des accommodements* with human laws, which may be interpreted according to the circumstances or preferences of the moment. Revolutionary leaders in most republics will never forsake their rights to presidential priority, and, in some of them, retired officers have been returned by decision of congress to their former commands in time of peace, without any motive of war. Yet those symptoms are good; they show that at least the diagnosis is being rightly established.

The constitution of the United States was more or less imitated by the Hispanic American countries, even by Brazil when the empire gave way to a republic in 1889. The only government in the New World left with a semblance of parliamentary character—and I say a semblance, because Brazil was the only country which really transplanted British institutions to the political soil of South America—was Chile. Coincident with the period when Brazil drafted its new constitution of a presidential type, the fierce struggle began in Chile between the executive and the legislative. This was led by Balmaceda, who did not approve of either president or congress having the power to assume legally the dictatorship, but insisted instead on building for his country a system, as he expressed it, of mutual independence on the ground of popular liberty.

The standard of constitutional revision which, as Balmaceda wrote in his political will, had fallen on the battlefield all stained



with blood, has been raised thirty years later by the present Chilean president, Señor Alessandri, who is endeavoring to make effective the personal responsibility of the president. This chief magistrate in Chile can now only be indicted by the chamber of deputies and judged by the senate after the expiration of his term of office. During his tenure of office his secretaries, like the ministers of a constitutional monarch—the king of England or the king of Spain, for instance—are those who assume before congress the responsibility of their acts, individual or collective.

Such a system shows a lack of logic. In the words of an Argentine professor of constitutional law, González Calderón, it corresponds to crowning an extensive personal authority, we may say, a dictatorial one, with a Phrygian cap. If the president possesses a strong personality, he is apt to go beyond his legal limitations and to grasp an illegal monopoly of power, becoming a despot in the light of the constitution, because he does not dispose of the right of dissolving parliament and consulting the nation.

This is what happened with Balmaceda. A legislative assembly, favored with such an immunity, turns itself easily into a convention and governs by itself, in opposition to the executive and even in opposition to public opinion. Under such conditions, we can not call the Chilean system a true parliamentary government, and the best proof of its inconsequence lies in its well known ministerial instability which produces very frequent changes of cabinet—a pathological condition, to use the words of President Alessandri, conducive to anarchy.

The actual president of Chile is for the present sharpening his weapons against the senate, whose political influence he considers excessive and would like to see curtailed in order that the senate may become a conservative reviewing chamber with its own sphere of action clearly marked out, leaving to the executive a similar freedom of movement.

Thus the senate would play the role of a *pouvoir modérateur*, similar to the one wisely conceived by Benjamin Constant as a substitution for the former absolute crown. If Chile suffers

from inconstancy in the administration of its government because of too frequent changes in its high personnel, other Hispanic American countries, where normality is not as yet the rule, suffer from too prolonged terms of power by a single official. This is the reason why such countries are trying to provide the presidential system with checks that may prevent it from overstepping its proper nature and recognized character.

Almost all the constitutions in existence at the present time in Hispanic America contain a clause forbidding the election of a president to succeed himself. This reveals a suspicion that they may be tempted to make use of their official prestige for that purpose. According to the new constitution of Mexico, a citizen may be president only once. This clause has, however, so to say a personal feature and does not properly affect the public or political aspect of the case.

The tendency is general, in fact, to increase the sphere of the central authority and render it not only broader but more vigorous, at the expense of the provincial, and especially of the municipal, governments. Even in Brazil, the central authority has become more effective—really if not nominally—under the federated republic than it was under the empire which was said to be centralized, its provinces enjoying by law a limited autonomy which was corrected by a traditional feeling of independence, considered less necessary in a democracy.

Another South American country, Peru, has given, however, through its constitution of 1920, a decided move forward along the pathway toward parliamentary government, by making the cabinet depend on a vote of confidence by the assembly of representatives. Not satisfied with that even, the new constitution endeavored, so to say, to restrain the action of the president by means of a council of state appointed by the cabinet with the approval of the senate.

During the empire, Brazil possessed a council of state which aided the sovereign by its counsel, and composed, as it was, of men of the first class who were chosen from the administration or amongst the lawyers, effectively enlightened public questions by means of their admirable reports. This council of state con-

tributed in such manner, although perhaps less than the French council conceived by Napoleon, in the framing of legislation by preparing the bills submitted by the executive to the legislative body.

We are led to inquire whether all these constitutional changes which take place in civilized societies, and which are the outcome of their progress, are not of a purely academic nature, although answering definite tendencies determined by political events. Every constitutional clause is susceptible, not only of being misconstrued or disused—I am told that in the United States (the model for constitutional countries) the electoral franchise is not the privilege of all citizens, and that equality is in a certain sense a delusion—but of being suppressed under too frequent proclamations of a state of siege.

But does this happen exclusively in Hispanic America? The last war has taught—it has at least taught me—a few things. To begin with, previous to the war, I thought mankind much better, although not so good as the philosophers of the school of Rousseau considered it. Then, too, I firmly believed in freedom. But all on a sudden, when it seemed to me that liberties were most necessary, I saw every one of them suspended: liberty of locomotion: liberty of trading; liberty of industry; liberty of opinion; liberty of communicating one's impressions to his friends; liberty, even, of thinking, and not only of thinking aloud.

The Inquisition, of which some make a charge against the countries of south Europe, especially Spain and Portugal, was not more severe nor more inhuman, and it confined its repression to religious heresies. Political heterodoxy has been treated just as badly in our time, and in the international sphere, even neutrality was dealt with as a crime of treason against one or the other side of the belligerents.

The greatest surprise I experienced was to see that such things happened, not in Germany, which schoolbooks and daily papers branded as an autocracy, nor in France only, where justice has sometimes been notoriously superseded by patriotism, but in the English-speaking democracies, so proud of their traditional



liberties, yet as ready as any other to renounce them in times of trouble and to allow the notion of State to acquire a Prussian, or, let us say, in a more flattering manner, a Roman appearance, and trample on individual guarantees.

The newest constitutions in Hispanic America show, as if to redeem themselves from their eventual political fallacy, a feature hitherto absent from such pacts, even when they assume the name of "social contract" and are not, as in contemporary Russia, the reflection of a destructive communism. That feature is precisely a socialist one, of a frank antiplutocratic character, comprising all forms of legislation on behalf of the working classes—as is the case with the Mexican constitution—or abolishing all test of revenue as a condition for election, including a progressive income tax and defining the fundamental principles of protection of labor—as in the Peruvian constitution, notwithstanding the aristocratic type of that country.

Democracy has been the sign of Hispanic America, though that called by the Venezuelan author, Vallenilla Lanz, "democratic caesarism" has not been scarce. But now social democracy is rapidly becoming the rule under the form of state socialism which Germany was the first to apply wisely in modern times, and which is still the best European safeguard against the perils of anarchy.

MANOEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA.

## CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION<sup>1</sup>

An American nation seemed to be reborn when, in the early months of the year 1921, three of the five governments of Central America ratified the pact of federation upon which four of the five agreed, in January of that year. In due time their people celebrated with enthusiasm the adoption of the new federal constitution. In several respects it is in advance of most like laws of nations.

Through the last hundred years leaders in Central America have shown their appreciation of the value which a union of the smaller nations would have, and have made attempts to bind together in one federation all the peoples between Mexico and Panama. This undertaking seems to have been made difficult by inherited tendencies of these peoples; by their superstitions, religions, and traditions; perhaps by party, and even by tribal, personal greed for monopoly of power and of riches.

In the later years of Spanish rule on the American continent, that part which was called the Reino de Guatemala included the provinces of Honduras, of Guatemala and of Chiapas, of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. A Capitán General was over all of these, and each province had its own governor. Guatemala city was the capital of the entire group. In that city the independence of that kingdom from Spanish control was declared in September, 1821. A few months later these provinces were incorporated with Mexico, under the rule of Augustín Iturbide, who was styled emperor.

Not long after that all the provinces named, excepting Chiapas and the district of Soconusco, announced that they were separated from Mexico. It is said that when the people of Chiapas voted on the question whether they would stay connected with Mexico

<sup>1</sup> For much of the data offered in these paragraphs I am indebted to the U. S. department of state, to the government of Honduras and the federal council; and particularly to Dr. José M. Sandoval, of the *asamblea nacional*.

or would unite with Central America, fraud was committed in counting their votes, and that a congress in Ciudad Real declared on September 14, 1824, that Chiapas was properly a part of Mexico. Soconusco remained as part of Central America until, in August, 1825, the Mexican government proposed that the troops and officials of Central American administration be withdrawn from Soconusco; that those of Mexico should not pass the boundary of that territory; and that this should be governed by its own authorities until its questions of boundaries should be decided definitely.

This proposal was accepted by the Federal Congress of Central America, with a stipulation that the people of Soconusco should continue to govern themselves in accord with the laws of Central America, and that their officials should obey directions the authorities of that federation might give to them. Assessments from Soconusco were sent to the Juez de Letras at Quesaltenango, Guatemala, and important questions were referred to him by Soconusco, until 1842. Yet, in that year, General López de Santa Ana ordered Colonel Juan Aguayo to occupy that district with his forces. Soconusco was thus added to Mexico.

In 1823, Central America declared that it was separate from Mexico, and assembled a congress in Guatemala in June of that year. All its provinces except Chiapas took part in that congress. On July 1, the *asamblea constituyente* of that federation decreed emancipation and, on November 22, 1824, published its constitution. Thus the Republic of Central America was established, with Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador as its States.

Disputes arose among its members, or among factions of them. Some writers have held that that union was broken up because of defects in its basic law; because of want of a federal district, a want that led to rivalry among the states; and because of lack of power in the federal supreme court to settle differences between the states. The constitution adopted in 1921 would avoid such grounds for contention.

In May, 1838, that congress announced that the several states in the Union might organize their governments as they wished,



if they would hold to the principle of popular representation. The constitution was to be changed to suit the will of the people. The federation of 1824 might have been said to be extinct. At that time the liberalistas ruled in El Salvador, and were in effect pledged to maintain federalism; but the parties opposed to them were dominant in Guatemala, in Honduras, and in Nicaragua, and strove for dissolution of the union. These several states were already ruled according to different codes. Honduras withdrew from the federation on November 5, 1838, and Costa Rica did likewise six days later, with a proviso that it might rejoin the others, if the union should be revived.

March 17, 1842, a convention met in Chinandega, Nicaragua. To it went delegates sent by Honduras, and El Salvador. They agreed on the organization of a federal government, and elected Don Antonio Cañas as its head. Neither Costa Rica nor Guatemala approved these acts.

A treaty signed on April 4, 1845, by Guatemala and El Salvador, pledged each of them to nominate two representatives who were to meet in Sonsonante in August, to try to establish an authority which was to be charged with the maintenance of the domestic peace, and with the direction of the foreign relations of that union. These representatives were to invite the republics of Costa Rica, of Honduras, and of Nicaragua, to send delegates to a convention for that purpose. Political disorders made this attempt futile.

In the year 1847, an assembly held sessions in Nacaome, Honduras, with the object of uniting that republic with Nicaragua and El Salvador, and of maintaining the peace those countries then enjoyed. That assembly issued a call on October 7, for the creation of a committee on a national constitution. The committee was to meet on August 1, 1848, in Tegucigalpa, or at such other place as the delegates might choose. An agreement for establishing a provisional government also was signed. It was believed that Costa Rica and Guatemala would join in this and agree to a pledge of mutual aid also.

The next following year these three signatory states decided to create another committee and, in León, Nicaragua, this

body agreed upon a treaty which stipulated that a national body should be organized, to represent all Central America. That organization was to be composed of plenipotentiaries to represent every state in such union. The peoples so united were to elect a president and a vice-president.

On the initiative of Honduras, delegates of El Salvador and of Nicaragua met those of Honduras, in Tegucigalpa, in January, 1852, and on October 9 of that year they installed a national diet, declared the establishment of the union of those three states, and that the first duty of the new nation was to put the union into the best practicable condition for defense; to unite with the other Hispanic American republics in a league to avert foreign aggression; and to use diplomatic means to re-establish the sovereignty of Central America. This latter proposal may have arisen from the question of the Bay Islands of Honduras and of the Mosquito Shore, over which Great Britain claimed to have a protectorate; and possibly in part from a hope of seeing British Honduras returned to Guatemala.

These projects led to opposition from the "separatista" party, and were defeated by it, assisted perhaps by foreign interests. But notwithstanding this defeat, Nicaragua started, in 1862, another movement to fuse the five republics into a single nation. Hondureños led by their vice-president, Victoriano Castellanos, enthusiastically helped this project; the same was done by El Salvador, of which Gerardo Barrios was then president. To him, representatives commissioned by Nicaragua offered the supreme command, and proposed that Guatemala city should be the national capital of the federation to be formed.

Upon a suggestion by Justo Rufino Barrios, then president of Guatemala, delegates from the five republics came together in Guatemala city, at the beginning of the year 1876, to study the project of reestablishing the Central American federation. But it appears that even while that convention was holding its sessions, rulers of Guatemala were preparing to war against El Salvador. That strife began, and nullified those efforts to unite.

Again, this time in the year 1885, an attempt to unite was made. It has been alleged that President Barrios, moved by

his own ambition and instigated by men of some of these republics, declared himself as commander-in-chief of an army that was to compel such fusion of the nations. Honduras had been his ally, and he counted upon the assistance of that republic. But the alarm given in Costa Rica, in Nicaragua, and in El Salvador, roused them. The invading forces led by Barrios met troops of El Salvador on the field of Chalchuapa, Barrios was killed and his scheme was defeated.

General Lisandro Barillas succeeded Barrios and, on November 15, 1886, through a secretary of state, sent a note to Costa Rica, to Honduras and to Nicaragua, inviting them to send delegates to Guatemala city, again to take up with those of Guatemala the effort to form a body that might create and maintain mutual confidence among the five countries; might define the hopes and the intentions of their peoples; and secure peace throughout Central America. That invitation brought together representatives of the republics, on January 20, 1887, and they concluded their work on the sixteenth of the next month. Among the results were a treaty of amity and peace, and agreements about customs affairs and about the extradition of criminals. They agreed further, that a Central American congress should convene each second year, and work in pacific, friendly ways, for federation. These assemblies were to be alternately in one after another of the republics.

Such a body met in San José de Costa Rica in 1888, and came together again in San Salvador a year later. There, on October 15, 1889, it made a pact to set up a provisional union that was to be followed, as early as might be practicable, by a definite and lasting union of the five republics. The intention was that on September 15, 1890, a general government of Central America should be inaugurated. Its first president was to be chosen by lot from the chief magistrates of the five republics. An insurrection however, led by Carlos Ezeta in El Salvador, and the death of President Francisco Menéndez, was followed by antagonism to the verge of war between Guatemala and El Salvador. These events destroyed hope of establishing the federation at that time.



In June, 1895, Dr. Policarpo Bonilla, an eminent leader in public affairs, recently minister at Washington for Honduras, and long an advocate of such federation, brought about a meeting in Honduras, of leading men of Nicaragua and of El Salvador. The reasoning and enthusiasm of Dr. Bonilla seemed to convince them, and they signed at Amapala, on June 20, a treaty of unity that was ratified by the legislative bodies of the three states named.

I am indebted to our department of state for the information that this Greater Republic of Central America was recognized by the United States when, on December 24, 1896, our President received Señor J. D. Rodríguez as its minister at Washington. That Greater Republic of Central America was represented in New York also, in 1898, by N. Bolet Peraza as its consul general.

On October 24 of the year last mentioned a commission that met in Managua, Nicaragua, to frame a constitution for that new republic, submitted the draft for such project. The peoples were prepared for electing the officials of the federation, when an insurrection began in El Salvador. This was followed by an apparent abandonment of that attempt to establish the federation.

Such were some of the attempts to bring the peoples of Central America together as a single nation, previous to that of 1921, when delegates of four of the five nations agreed upon the pact quoted in the following paragraphs.

This treaty provided that when three or more of the republics ratified it, that act would be enough to make it valid and to have it carried into effect. Four days after its signing, El Salvador formally approved it; Honduras did likewise two days later, and Guatemala followed on April 6. Thus the Republic of Central America was revived. Certain details were to be arranged, and a constitution was to be drafted and submitted to the people for discussion, adoption, or changes.

This pact of San José provides that none of the states of this revived republic is to intervene in the domestic affairs of any other of them, nor enter into alliance or into treaty with any other power. All official relations between any one of these

states and any foreign government are to be managed and maintained by the federal authorities exclusively.

Some believed that this had direct bearing upon certain relations existing between Nicaragua and the United States, therefore that provision interested practically all Central America, and commercial, financial, and political interests of other nations also.

Some have asked whether the representatives of Nicaragua may have been moved to decline to sign that pact, by memory of attempts by certain Europeans to obtain sites for establishments that might menace the ship-canal routes; of movements to subjugate the whole of the western world; or recollection of the treaty by which Americans thought themselves warranted in helping Nicaragua financially and in other ways. Costa Rica also declined to sign that pact.

Last July, a member of the supreme court of Honduras wrote to me about this:

Perhaps when that article was written the Chamorro-Bryan treaty was in mind, and Nicaragua was, of course, among those that discussed it. That country would be compromised by a treaty which, if fulfilled, would affect rights of neighboring states. This made necessary a declaration that might reconcile the interests of the contracting nations, yet disquiet no nation which, like the United States, had acquired treaty rights.

Discussions by the plenipotentiaries of Central America, of which you may not have been informed, made it clear that no opposition to the United States inspired them, and that they were animated by a desire to reach a satisfactory solution.

If this was not attained the failure was due to the course of the representative of Nicaragua. He was pledged to a reservation, yet would not consent to Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica having their reservations, based on declarations by the American senate. The delegate of Nicaragua asked that the following be added to that pact:

"The Republic of Nicaragua understands that the Chamorro-Bryan treaty is accepted as a valid treaty that is to be complied with by Nicaragua, in all obligations and consequences arising from it, and that, for that effect, and for the fulfilment of additional agreements and acts that may be necessary in relation to the Chamorro-Bryan treaty, the

Republic of Nicaragua may have foreign diplomatic relations without prejudice of the federal representation."

The representatives of El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica could not consent to that addition without ignoring other interests, so far as said treaty referred to the San Juan River and the naval station on the Gulf of Fonseca. Therefore they offered various other resolutions, none of which were accepted by the delegate of Nicaragua.

Dr. Falla, delegate of Guatemala, offered an amendment founded upon the explanation by the Hon. Robert Lansing, then secretary of state, to the effect that: "The Republics of Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras, each for itself, accepts said reservation, with the understanding that, in conformity with the declaration of the American senate, it shall in no way affect adversely any existing right of the states named herein."

This was approved, and seemed to have reconciled the interests of the several states; but unhappily the delegate to Nicaragua changed his mind suddenly, and refused to sign the pact.

The protocol of the convention made it understood that Central America considers that the United States only could bring to an end the work of making the canal, and that this would attract to the country immense advantages.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Tal vez cuando se redactó la expresada cláusula se haya tenido presente el tratado Chamorro-Bryan, por figurar Nicaragua entre los que lo discutían y ser esta República la comprometida en un tratado cuyas bases, al ser cumplidas, podrían afectar derechos de los Estados limítrofes. Se hacía, pues, necesario hacer una declaración que conciliase los intereses de las naciones contratantes y para no alarmar a cualquiera nación extranjera que, como los Estados Unidos, tiene ya adquiridos sus derechos en virtud del expresado tratado Chamorro-Bryan.

Las discusiones de los plenipotenciarios Centro-americanos, que quiza Ud. no conoce, da a comprender que ninguna hostilidad para Norte América inspiraba a los conferencistas, y que hicieron cuanto estuvo de su parte por llegar a una solución satisfactoria: que si no se llegó a ella fue por la obstinación del representante de Nicaragua, quien se empeñó en que se consignar a un reserva absurda, sin permitir que Honduras, El Salvador y Costa Rica, hicieran también la suya, fundada en la declaración del Senado Americano.

El Delegado nicaragüense pretendía la siguiente fórmula, como agregada al Artículo IV, que se acepta, "que el tratado Chamorro-Bryan, siendo como es, un pacto válido, será cumplido por Nicaragua en todas sus obligaciones y consecuencias que dé él se deriven; y para ese efecto y para la celebración de convenciones adicionales u otras diligencias que fueren necesarias en relación con el



That treaty called for a commission, to be composed of fifteen delegates from each of the states in the federation. The men so chosen as members of this commission or *asamblea nacional constituyente* were:

#### STATE OF GUATEMALA

Alvarado, Miguel T. of Mazatenango.  
 Astúa Aguilar, José. San José, C. R.  
 Falla, Salvador. Guatemala.  
 Fuentes, Filadelfo. Quezaltenango  
 León, Alberto de. Guatemala.  
 Lizarralde, Eduardo. Guatemala.  
 Matos, José. Guatemala.  
 Mendieta, Salvador. Diriamba, Nicar.  
 Obregón, Virgilio. Quezaltenango.  
 Ponciano, Rafael D. Guatemala  
 Salazar, Carlos. Guatemala.  
 Samayoa, José León. Guatemala.  
 Sandoval, Salvador E. Santa Ana,  
 Silva Peña, Eugenio. Guatemala.  
 Valladares, Antonio. Guatemala.

tratado Chamorro-Bryan, tendrá la República de Nicaragua representación exterior diplomática sin perjuicio de la representación federal."

Los representantes salvadoreño, hondureño y costarricense, no podían aceptar esa adición sin ser inconsecuentes con sus pretensiones anteriores, en cuanto dicho tratado hace relación al río San Juan y a la estación del Golfo de Fonseca; por eso presentaron una contra-reserva, en varias fórmulas, y por falta de aceptación del de Nicaragua, el Dr. Falla, Delegado por Guatemala, y con su correspondiente exposición de motivos, dijo:

"Fundados en el texto del tratado, tal como fue ratificado por el Senado Americano y en las explicaciones dadas por el Secretario de Estado, Mr. Robert Lansing, tenemos el honor de proponer la siguiente cláusula, como adición a la propuesta por el señor Delegado de Nicaragua:

"Las Repúblicas de Costa Rica, El Salvador y Honduras, a su vez, advierten que aceptan la reserva anterior, en el concepto de que, de conformidad con la declaración del Senado Americano, al ratificar dicho Tratado, éste no tiene en mira afectar, ni afectará, ningún derecho de los referidos Estados.

La proposición del Dr. Falla tuvo una acogida favorable, y pareció que conciliaba los intereses de los Estados; pero desgraciadamente el delegado nicaragüense se arrepintió después y se excusó de firmar el pacto.

## STATE OF HONDURAS

Alduvín, Ricardo. Tegucigalpa.  
Barajona, Manuel F. San Pedro Sula.  
Bonilla, Policarpo. Tegucigalpa.  
Boquín, Teodoro F. Comayagua.  
Corleto, Salvador. Tegucigalpa.  
García, Coronado. Tegucigalpa.  
Mejía Colindres, Vincente, Comayagüela.  
Meza, Jacinto A. San Pedro Sula.  
Moncada, Hipólito. La Ceiba.  
Navarro, Miguel. Comayagüela.  
Oquell Bustillo, Miguel. Tegucigalpa.  
Paredes, Juan E. San Pedro Sula  
Reina, Antonio R. Comayagüela.  
Sandoval, José María. Tegucigalpa  
Zúñiga, Huete, J. Angel. Comayagüela

## STATE OF EL SALVADOR

Alfaro, Antonio. Ahuachapán  
Alvarez, Eduardo. San Salvador.  
Azúcar Chávez, Carlos. San Salvador  
Barrios, Sixto. San Salvador.  
Calderón, J. Thomas. San Salvador.  
Castañeda, Francisco. San Salvador  
Castro Ramírez, Manuel. San Salvador.  
Cevallos, Lisandro. San Salvador.  
Córdova, Enrique. San Salvador.  
Delgado, Manuel. San Salvador.  
Hidalgo, Rafael J. San Salvador.  
Lima, Francisco A. San Salvador.  
Masferrer, Alberto. San Salvador  
Rosales, David. San Miguel.

On September 9, 1921, the constitution was accepted and ratified by the legislatures of Guatemala, of Honduras, and of El Salvador, and six days afterward, the hundredth Independence Day of Central America and Mexico, the *Boletín del Consejo Federal*, organ of the new government, issued a special edition, which announced that:

The representatives of the people of the States of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, reunited in the National Constituent Assembly, in compliance with the pact of union signed in San José de Costa Rica the nineteenth day of January, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one; inspired by the letter and the spirit of said pact and by the general sentiment of the inhabitants of this part of the American continent, do decree the following is the political constitution of the Federal Republic of Central America.<sup>3</sup>

Article 1 of this Constitution declares that the states of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, in union perpetual and indissoluble constitute a sovereign and independent federation that is named the Republic of Central America.

Those born or that may be born in territory of this federation will be its citizens, even though of foreign parents; excepting only children of diplomatic agents. So are they who are born in a foreign land to a Central American father; also illegitimate children of a Central American woman, from the moment when they reside in this republic; and even without this condition when the laws of the place of their birth correspond to those of Central America relating to birth, or they have a right to choose Central American citizenship; also natives of Nicaragua or of Costa Rica, domiciled in this Republic may enjoy citizenship, unless they show a desire to retain their citizenship in one or other of those countries; also Spaniards or Ibero-Americans who have resided one year in this federation, and other foreigners who have resided here two years, may become citizens if they are of voting age, of good conduct, and have an art, income, profession or other means that will yield them a decent living; also any foreign woman, wife of a Central American, may become a citizen by declaring, within the year next after her marriage to a Central American, her desire to acquire such citizenship; also foreigners who, previously renouncing the nationality of their birth, ac-

<sup>3</sup> Los representantes del pueblo de los Estados de Guatemala, El Salvador y Honduras, reunidos en Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, en cumplimiento del Pacto de Unión firmado en San José de Costa Rica, el día diecinueve de enero de mil novecientos veintiuno; inspirándose en la letra y el espíritu de dicho pacto y en el sentimiento general de los habitantes de esta parte del continente Americano, Decretan la siguiente Constitución política de la República Federal de Centro América.



cept any employment other than professional or that pertains to a military mission.<sup>4</sup>

Citizenship of a Central American may be lost, for a time or perpetually, by a prison sentence; by signed sentence depriving the offender of political rights; by being declared judicially a fraudulent debtor or for notoriously vicious conduct.

It is lost: 1. By accepting, without due permission, decorations from foreign countries, save when these distinctions have the object of rewarding philanthropic, scientific, literary, or artistic works. 2. By doing, without due license, military or political service for a foreign nation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Art. 18. Los centroamericanos son por nacimiento o por naturalización. Lo son por nacimiento: 1. Los nacidos o que nazcan en territorio de la Federación, aunque sean de padres extranjero, exceptuándose únicamente los hijos de los Agentes Diplomáticos. 2. Los hijos de padre centroamericano y los hijos ilegítimos de madre centroamericana nacidos en país extranjero, desde el momento en que residan en la República; y aun sin esta condición cuando conforme a las leyes del lugar del nacimiento les corresponda la nacionalidad centroamericana, o tuvieren derecho a elegir y optaren por la nacionalidad centroamericana. 3. Los naturales de los Estados de Nicaragua y Costa Rica domiciliados en territorio de la Federación, salvo que manifiesten ante la autoridad competente el deseo de conservar su nacionalidad.

Lo son por naturalización: 1. Los españoles o iberoamericanos con residencia de un año en el territorio de la Federación. 2. Los demás extranjeros que tuvieren dos años de residencia. En uno y otro caso manifestarán su deseo de naturalizarse ante la autoridad competente y deberán ser mayores de edad, de notoria buena conducta y tener renta, arte, profesión, industria u otro medio decoroso de vivir. 3. La mujer extranjera casada con centroamericano que manifieste ante la autoridad respectiva su deseo de adquirir la naturalización dentro del año subsiguiente al matrimonio. 4. Los extranjeros que, renunciando previamente su nacionalidad de origen, acepten cualquier empleo, salvo en el profesorado o que pertenezcan a una misión militar.

<sup>5</sup> Art. 30. La calidad de ciudadano se limita, se suspende, se pierde y se restablece con arreglo a las siguientes prescripciones: Se limita por estar prestando servicio activo en el ejército, en la armada o en la policía. En tales circunstancias no se podrá ser elector: pero sí elegible en los casos no prohibidos por la ley.

Se suspende: 1. Por auto de prisión formal o declaratorio de haber lugar a formación de causa. 2. Por sentencia firme que prive de los derechos políticos. 3. Por interdicción judicial, por estar declarado deudor fraudulento o por tener conducta notoriamente viciosa.

Se pierde: 1. Por aceptar, sin el permiso debido, condecoraciones de países extranjeros, salvo que esas distinciones tengan por objeto premiar obras filantrópicas, científicas, literarias o artísticas. 2. Por desempeñar, sin la licencia debida, empleo de nación extranjera, del ramo militar o de carácter político.

Central Americans who are eighteen years of age and married, or who can read and write, and others who are twenty-one years old, are citizens. After seven years have passed, after the promulgation of this law, ability to read and to write will be an essential requisite to the right to vote for candidates for federal offices. Each state is to fix the time when ability to read and write is to become indispensable to voting for candidates for office in that State.

Among rights guaranteed by this constitution are: The right of assembling; of suffrage; of holding public office; of expression of opinion or of facts by speech, by pen, or by press; of buying, owning, and selling, or otherwise transferring property; and of doing any lawful work or business.

Married women and widows of more than twenty-one years age, who can read and write; single women of twenty-five years or more accredited with having received primary education; and they who possess capital or income in the amount that the electoral law indicates, have the right of suffrage. They may also hold public offices that are not filled by popular election, or that have no jurisdiction.

No law or authority can establish prior censoring or require surety from authors or from printers, or limit the freedom of the press. This has no limits other than respect for the rights of others, for morals, and for public order, for the purpose of imposing the penalty for an offense committed. In no case can the press be seized on the plea that it is an instrument of the transgression.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Son ciudadanos los centroamericanos mayores de veintiún años, y los mayores de diez y ocho años que sean casados o sepan leer y escribir.

Pasados siete años a contar desde la promulgación de la presente Ley Constitutiva, será requisito esencial para ejercer el derecho de sufragio, en la elección de autoridades federales, la circunstancia de saber leer y escribir.

Cada Estado deberá fijar el plazo para que esta condición sea requisito indispensable en las elecciones de sus autoridades.

Art. 29. Podrán ejercer el derecho de sufragio las mujeres casadas o viudas mayores de veintiún años que sepan leer y escribir; las solteras mayores de veinticinco años que acrediten haber recibido la instrucción primaria, y las que posean capital o renta en la cuantía que la Ley Electoral indique.

Podrán también optar a cargos públicos que no sean de elección popular, o no tengan anexa jurisdicción.

Art. 34. Es libre de emisión del pensamiento por la palabra o por escrito. Ninguna ley ni autoridad puede establecer la previa censura ni exigir fianza a los

The constitution guarantees to all inhabitants of the republic freedom of thought and of conscience. There can be no legislation about matters of religion. In all the states tolerance toward all cults not contrary to morals, to good habits, or to public order, is to be obligatory.

Freedom of teaching also is guaranteed. Primary teaching is to be obligatory; and that given in the public schools will be directed at the cost of the states and the municipalities. Each state will regulate the maintenance for such schools.

The federation, the states, the municipalities, and individuals may found and sustain schools for secondary teaching and normal schools; but all these will be subject to the plan of teaching and other conditions that the law establishes. Teaching imparted by the federal government will be laical.<sup>7</sup>

Article 38 guarantees freedom of pacific assembly, without arms, and the right of association for any lawful object, moral, religious, scientific, or of any other nature; but the establishment of convents or of monastic associations is prohibited. So are contracts in which a man agrees to or accepts his proscription or exile, or the irrevocable sacrifice of his freedom or dignity.<sup>8</sup>

autores o impresores, ni coartar la libertad de imprenta. Esta no tiene más límites que el respeto al derecho ajeno, a la moral y al orden público, para el efecto de imponer la pena por el delito que se comita. En ningún caso podrá secuestrarse la imprenta como instrumento de delito.

La ley complementaria respectiva reglamentará el ejercicio de este derecho.

<sup>7</sup> La Federación garantiza a todo habitante la libertad de pensamiento y de conciencia. No podrá legislar sobre materia religiosa. En todos los Estados será principio obligatorio el de la tolerancia de cultos no contrarios a la moral, a las buenas costumbres o al orden público.

Art. 35. La Federación garantiza la libertad de enseñanza. La primaria será obligatoria; y la que se dé en las escuelas públicas, gratuita, dirigida y costeadas por los Estados y Municipios. Cada Estado reglamentará la sostenida por él. La Federación, los Estados, los Municipios y particulares podrán fundar y sostener colegios de segunda enseñanza y escuelas normales; pero todos estarán sujetos al plan de enseñanza y demás condiciones que establezca la ley. La enseñanza impartida por el Gobierno Federal será laica.

<sup>8</sup> Se garantiza la libertad de reunión pacífica, sin armas, y la de asociación para cualquier objeto lícito, ya sea este religioso, moral, científico o de cualquier naturaleza. Se prohíbe el establecimiento de congregaciones conventuales y de todo especie de instituciones o asociaciones monásticas. También se prohíben los convenios en que el hombre pacte o acepte su proscripción o destierro, o el irrevocable sacrificio de su libertad o dignidad.



Foreigners are guaranteed, in the territory of the federation, all civil rights of Central Americans. They will be required to respect the authorities and obey the laws, to be subject to the usual personal and ordinary taxes, and to charges, ordinary or extraordinary, that Central Americans are required to pay, so far as concerns property possessed by them and in the republic.

Foreigners can not make claims or demand any indemnity of the republic, except in cases and in forms like those in which claims may be made by Central Americans.

Foreigners may not have recourse to diplomatic intervention, except in event of denial of justice and after having exhausted the legal resources having jurisdiction in the case. By denial is not understood a decision obtained that may be unfavorable to the claimant. They who contravene this requirement to exhaust legal resources first, shall lose the right to reside in the country.

The law can establish the form and the cases in which a foreigner may be denied entrance into the country, or decree his expulsion. The territory of the federation is declared an asylum for all who take refuge in it. The cases in which extradition may be conceded for grave offenses, will be established by law or by treaty.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Los extranjeros gozarán en el territorio de la Federación todos los derechos civiles de los centroamericanos. Están obligados a respetar a las autoridades y a obedecer las leyes y quedan sujetos a los impuestos personales ordinarios, y a las cargas ordinarias y extraordinarias que obliguen a los centroamericanos, en cuanto a los bienes que posean en la República.

Los extranjeros no podrán hacer reclamaciones, ni exigir indemnización alguna de la República, sino en los casos y forma en que pudieran hacerlo los centroamericanos.

Los extranjeros no podrán ocurrir a la vía diplomática, sino en el caso de negación de justicia y después de agotados los recursos legales que tengan expedidos. No se entiende por denegación de justicia el que un fallo ejecutoriado sea desfavorable al reclamante. Los que contravengan al requisito de agotar previamente los recursos legales, perderán el derecho de habitar en el país.

La ley podrá establecer la forma y casos en que puede negarse al extranjero la entrada en el país, o decretarse su expulsión.

El territorio de la Federación es un asilo sagrado para toda persona que se refugia en él. Queda prohibida la extradición por delitos políticos o conexos. Los casos en que pueda concederse la extradición por delitos comunes graves se establecerán en la ley o en los tratados.

In their recognition of the interests of labor they who drafted this basic law showed that they were well informed about problems that have demanded careful study by statesmen, financiers, manufacturers, and labor leaders of the civilized world. This constitution provides that the maximum of the day of salaried work shall be eight hours, and that for each six days of work there shall be one day of rest. Employers will be responsible for accidents happening to their employees, by reason of their work and in the exercise of that work or profession, unless the accident is caused by something foreign to that employment, or that could not be foreseen or resisted practicably, or by the notable carelessness or grave imprudence of the employee. Work by women and by boys less than fourteen years old is said to merit especial protection, and will be regulated by law. Workers are authorized, individually and collectively, to suspend their work, provided that they do not employ compulsion nor unlawful or violent measures, nor contravene lawful stipulations of the contracts. Suspension of work will be unlawful if it would disturb public order or interrupt any public service.<sup>10</sup>

An Institute of Social Reforms is to be established, and its attributes and duties are to be: (a) To harmonize the relations between capital and labor; (b) To promote and stimulate the founding of associations of productive industries, of consumers, and for savings; of life and accident insurance, and especially to attend to founding of associations for erecting homes that shall be hygienic and inexpensive; (c) To guard matrimony and the

<sup>10</sup> Art. 163. La jornada máxima obligatoria de trabajo asalariado será de ocho horas diarias. Por cada seis días de trabajo habrá uno de descanso.

El patrono es responsable de los accidentes ocurridos a sus operarios con motivo y en ejercicio de la profesión o trabajo que realicen, a menos que el accidente sea debido a fuerza mayor o caso fortuito extraño al trabajo en que se produzca el accidente, o que éste se haya verificado por notable descuido o grave imprudencia del operario.

Art. 165. El trabajo de las mujeres y el de los hombres menos de catorce años merece protección especial. La ley deberá reglamentarlo.

Art. 166. Los trabajadores están facultados, individual y colectivamente, para suspender su trabajo siempre que no empleen coacción, ni medios ilícitos o violentos, ni contravengan a lo estipulado legalmente en los contratos.

No es lícita la suspensión del trabajo que altere el orden o interrumpa cualquier servicio público.

family as the fundamental base of society, and to organize the home.<sup>11</sup>

The Constitution declares that the government of the federation shall be republican, popular, and responsible, and have three powers: the legislative, the executive and the judicial. The legislative power is to be in two chambers; one of senators and the other of deputies. The senate will be composed of three principal senators and of three substitutes for each state, elected by its legislative power, and of one senator and one substitute for the federal district. The senators must be in the exercise of the rights of citizenship, be over forty years old and natives of one of the states. Their term of office is to be six years, and one-third of the whole number is to be elected each second year. The chamber of deputies is to be composed of representatives elected by popular vote, one principal and one substitute deputy for each 100,000 inhabitants or fraction of more than 50,000. To be a deputy one is required to be more than 25 years old, a native of Central America, and in the exercise of the rights of citizenship. The federal district is to elect deputies in the same proportion; but it will have at least one deputy and one substitute, whatever may be the number of its inhabitants. Senators and deputies may be reelected indefinitely. In each chamber three-fourths of its total membership will be a quorum.

The executive power will be exercised by a federal council composed of delegates elected by popular vote. Each state will elect one principal and one substitute, native citizens of the state that elects them. The term of this council will be five years. These delegates and substitutes must reside in the federal capital. The substitutes will assist in the deliberations of the council,

<sup>11</sup> Se establecerá un Centro Técnico bajo el nombre "Instituto de Reformas Sociales," cuyas atribuciones y deberes serán los siguientes: a) Armonizar las relaciones entre el capital y el trabajo; b) Promover y estimular la fundación de sociedades de producción, ahorro y consumo, así como las de seguros contra accidentes y sobre la vida. Especialmente atenderá la fundación de cooperativas para la construcción de casas higiénicas y baratas; c) Proteger el matrimonio y la familia, como base y fundamento de la sociedad, y organizar el patrimonio de familia.



without voting; but they will have the vote when their principals are not in attendance at a session of the council. That this council may act validly it will be necessary that all the states in this federation be represented in it. Its decisions will be by votes of a majority of its members, except in cases in which the constitution requires a larger majority. In event of a tie, its president will have two votes. This council will elect its president and vice-president from among its principal delegates, and their term of office shall be a year. The president shall not be re-elected for the year next following that term. The president of the council will be held to be the president of the federation, but will act always in the name and by resolution or mandate of the federal council.

Exercise of the judicial powers, rights of jurisdiction, and of the right to execute judgment, are to belong to a supreme court and other tribunals subordinate to it. This supreme court is to be composed of seven principal judges and three substitute judges. They are to be elected by the federal senate, from twenty-one candidates, seven from each of the three states. None of these judges are to be removable except by judicial decision. This supreme court might act as arbiter for any of these states having pending between them questions of boundaries, or of the validity or the execution of decrees given before the signing of the treaty of January 19, 1921.

This draft for a constitution has a suggestion that making of alcoholic liquors and traffic in them might be regulated by federal acts.

Throughout this draft are evidences that they who made it were keen students and clear sighted judges of the trend of events in other lands, and had forecast their probable effects. It was submitted to the people of the three republics, and was formally and enthusiastically approved and adopted. Preparations for organizing the federal administration were carried out, and none appeared to doubt that all that remained to be done would be completed at the time chosen.

Under date of January 4, 1922, an item of news from San Salvador said:

The federal assembly of the Federation of Central American Republics has convened in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, by order of the federal council. The deputies elected by Guatemala, under the Herrera administration lately overthrown, have been seated, being declared duly elected.

Three days later a dispatch from Guatemala was published as below:

The national assembly has elected the senators who will represent Guatemala in the senate of the Federation of Central American Republics, and also approved the election of deputies and the federal councillor, who had been chosen previously.

But exactly a year after the signing of that pact of federation in the capital of Costa Rica, a member of the *asamblea constituyente* wrote to me as follows:

The political events which have occurred in the state of Guatemala from December 5 to this date, and which resulted in the overthrow of the administration of Don Carlos Herrera, have now overturned the Central American Federation, for with that new order of things, without constitutional sanction, the legal functioning of the new political organism is impossible—much less, since this is prevented by the principles of not recognizing governments *de facto* which have been adopted by American countries.

Very recently there has been published the cablegram of the deputies through the federal council to the [U.S.] department of state, for the purpose of obtaining recognition of the federation. In that cable, they say that their efforts had progressed satisfactorily up to the events in Guatemala, and that owing to these the aforesaid department had stated to them that it would be impossible to continue to treat for the abovesaid recognition until the federation was functioning completely and with the will of the federated peoples and governments.

The Guatemalan revolutionists disown the legality of the assembly which functioned from the time of the reform of the constitution—the same assembly, which approved the pact of San José de Costa Rica, nominated the members to the provisional federal council, and elected the deputies who issued the federal constitution.

They maintain also that the elections of counselors and deputies to the congress of the federation, as held in Guatemala, are null and void,

for while they ought to have been held according to the constitution of the federation, in conformity with the constitution of that state, the aforesaid elections were made by secret vote and not in public as this last chapter directs.

Consequently, they convoked the assembly which was dissolved on October 5, 1920, after having agreed upon the constitutional revisions, and that body nominated as member to the provisional federal council Licentiate Don Marcial Prem as a substitute for the one now functioning.

In its turn, the council, on December 28, convoked the deputies elected in the three states and the senators for El Salvador and Honduras who were to assemble in congress in this capital within the first fortnight of this month.

Thereupon, the assembly of Guatemala appointed its senators and together with Señor Prem they left for this capital and made the journey when the said council issued a decree for the convocation of the old Guatemalan assembly for the nomination of senators.

On that account, the government of Guatemala protested, and although the federal council immediately reconsidered its decree by a majority of votes, and summoned the aforementioned senators, the Guatemalan government had already recalled them together with Señor Prem, and stated that the question was closed since the latter was not acceptable. Hence, congress would declare Guatemala dissociated from the pact of union and in possession again of its sovereignty.

To the present time, the federal congress has continued to act and some senators and deputies are holding meetings in order to reach some satisfactory solution of the unionist problem which has become so greatly complicated. But I believe that all those who are arguing sanely, are, as is the undersigned, full of the greatest depression.

Such are the occurrences which have taken place in these countries during the last two months, and which so visibly affect their political life. To impartial persons is left the right to judge us and to declare who must bear the responsibility of the rupture of the Central American federation, which this time seemed already converted into a beautiful reality.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Los acontecimientos políticos ocurridos en el Estado de Guatemala del 5 de diciembre para acá y que dieron por resultado el derrocamiento de la administración de don Carlos Herrera, han venido a trastornar la Federación Centro-Americana, puesto que con ese nuevo orden de cosas, sin sanción constitucional, no es posible el funcionamiento legal de la nueva entidad política; y mucho menos,



These endeavors to unite the peoples of Central America, so persistently continued through the century of freedom from autocratic government, may be accepted as proof that a major-

impidiéndolo los principios que han adoptado los países americanos de no reconocer a los gobiernos de facto.

Con posterioridad se ha publicado el cablegrama de los delegados por el Consejo Federal ante el Departamento de Estado, con el objeto de obtener el reconocimiento de la Federación. En ese cable comunican que sus gestiones han progresado satisfactoriamente hasta los acontecimientos de Guatemala y que debido seguir tratando el expresado reconocimiento sino hasta que la Federación funcionará de hecho y derecho y con la voluntad de los pueblos y gobiernos federados.

Los revolucionarios guatemaltecos desconocen la legalidad de la Asamblea que funcionó de la reforma de la Constitución; la misma que aprobó el pacto de San José de Costa Rica, nombró los Designados al Consejo Federal Provisional y eligió los diputados que emitieron la Constitución Federal.

Sostienen también que son nulas las elecciones de Consejeros y Diputados al Congreso de la Federación, practicados en Guatemala, por que, debiendo haberse practicados según la Constitución de la Federación, de conformidad con la Constitución de aquel Estado, dichas elecciones se hicieron en voto secreto y no en público, como lo manda esta última carta.

En consecuencia, convocaron a la Asamblea que se disolvió el 5 de octubre de 1921, después de haber acordado las reformas constitutivas, y este cuerpo, nombró Designado al Consejo Federal Provisional al Lic. don Marcial Prem, en sustitución del que está funcionando.

A su vez, el Consejo, el 28 de diciembre, convocó a los Diputados electos en los tres Estados y a los Senadores por El Salvador y Honduras para que se reuniese en Congreso en esta capital en los primeros quince días de este mes.

La Asamblea de Guatemala entonces nombró sus Senadores y en unión del señor Prem salieron para esta capital, y de tránsito venían, cuando el propio Consejo emitió un Decreto mandado convocar a la anterior Asamblea guatemalteca para que hiciera el nombramiento de Senadores.

Por tal motivo, el Gobierno de Guatemala protestó, y aunque el Consejo Federal reconsideró en punto de acta su decreto por mayoría de votos, y llamó a dichos senadores, ya el Gobierno guatemalteco los había hecho regresar, juntamente con el señor Prem; y manifestó que la cuestión quedaba en pie, puesto que no se aceptaba a éste; y en consecuencia hizo que el Congreso declarase a Guatemala desligada del pacto de Unión, recobrando su soberanía.

Al presente sigue actuando el Congreso Federal y algunos Senadores y Diputados tienen reuniones para ver como se soluciona satisfactoriamente el problema unionista, que tanto se ha complicado; pero considero que todos los que raciocinan con serenidad, están, como está el suscrito, llenos del mayor desaliento.

Tales son los acontecimientos que han tenido lugar en estos países en estos dos meses, y que afectan de una manera tan sensible su vida política. Queda a los imparciales el derecho de juzgarnos y de declarar quienes deben llevar la responsabilidad de la ruptura de la Federación Centro-americana, que en esta vez parecía ya convertida en una bella realidad.

ity of its inhabitants, including the citizens of Costa Rica and of Nicaragua, would favor a completion of the union, as was planned last year.

It is hoped that the check given by the events in Guatemala, mentioned in the letter quoted, will hinder no longer than the coming of recognition, by a great nation, of the government of Guatemala.

EDWARD PERRY.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA<sup>1</sup>

The Argentine constitution is especially interesting to the student of political institutions, because it furnishes an excellent example of the hybrid offspring produced by planting Anglo-Saxon institutions upon Hispanic soil. With but few modifications, the people of Argentina took for their fundamental law the constitution of the United States of America. This is equally true, of course, of every other Hispanic American country except Chile, which went to England for its model; but Argentina furnishes the best example of Anglo-Saxon laws under Hispanic administration. Brazil has been a republic for but a few decades, and only the "A. B. C." countries of the world south of the Rio Grande can boast of being republics in fact as well as in name.

In the preamble to the Argentine constitution, which sets forth the reasons for the adoption of the instrument, we find two significant deviations from the phraseology of its model. The representatives who gathered together in the constituent congress of Santa Fe were not representatives of United States or Provinces, but of the Argentine nation. This is technically true notwithstanding the opposition emanating from the provinces toward the federal government. The provinces, while retaining all powers not granted to the nation, conferred upon the central authority far greater powers than were originally granted to the general government of the United States. The provinces were largely artificial units, lacking any very distinctive characteristics, and the necessity for welding them into a

<sup>1</sup> By far the best study of Argentine political institutions with which the writer is familiar is *La Ley Constitucional Argentina*, by Manuel Agosto Montes de Oca, Buenos Aires, 1914. This work is used as a text book by the students in the University of Buenos Aires. Another valuable contribution is Augustin de Vedia's *Constitucion Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1907. Various other authorities have been used in the preparation of this paper, among them being Alberdi's *Bases de la Constitución*.



strong and efficient state was generally recognized, but this was not really achieved without jealousies on the part of the provinces.

It is also worth noting that these men desired to secure the blessings of liberty, not only to themselves and their posterity, but "to all men who wish to dwell on Argentine soil". The constant aim of the Argentine Government has been to encourage immigration to its shores, and every inducement has been given Europeans to forsake their native countries for the promised land of the new world. One article of the constitution specifically imposes upon congress the duty of fostering immigration, and other articles are carefully framed to guard the foreigner against injustice, and induce him to accept the advantages and responsibilities of citizenship. According to the census of 1914, Argentina had a density of population of but 6.83 persons per square mile, compared with 258.30 for England in the same year, 191.19 for France, and 120.04 for Germany. Its need of a dependable labor supply is great.

#### THE EXECUTIVE POWER

The Constitution declares that

The executive power of the nation shall be exercised by a citizen with the title of 'President of the Argentine Nation'.

The framers of the Argentine constitution intentionally departed from their American model in shaping the provisions relating to the executive. "This in one of the places," wrote Juan Bautista Alberdi, Argentine lawyer and publicist, who prepared the draft upon which the constitution was based, "in which our Hispano-Argentine constitution must be separated from the example of the federal constitution of the United States." It was intended to give even more power to the executive than had been granted to the American President, in order that he might be able to maintain national unity. The fear of dictatorship could not quite be forgotten, however, and the result has been a grant of great power, coupled with numerous provisions intended to prevent its abuse. The Chilean constitution furnished the basis for this portion of the fundamental law of Argentina.

Article 75 provides for the succession to the presidency:

In case of the illness, absence from the capital, death, resignation, or dereliction of the president, the executive power shall be exercised by the vice-president of the nation. In case of dereliction, death, resignation, or inability of the president and vice-president of the nation, congress shall determine what public functionary shall fill the office of president, until the cause of inability has been removed, or a new president is elected.

The Argentine constitution provides that the vice-president shall become the president *pro tempore* if the president leaves the federal capital. By another article, the president is forbidden to leave the capital without the consent of congress. This strange provision is without parallel in any constitution, and the reason for its adoption has become purely historical.

In order to be eligible for the presidency or the vice-presidency, one must have attained the age of thirty years, be a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and have an annual income equivalent to approximately two thousand American dollars. One must also be a native citizen, or, if born abroad, the son of a native citizen. The inclusion of sons of native Argentines born in foreign lands was deemed advisable primarily because of the great number of patriots who had been driven from the country by the tyrant Rosas, and whose sons had in consequence been born abroad. The income requirement inserted in this article serves to illustrate the conservatism of the men who dominated the Santa Fe convention. It was adopted with but little debate. A fierce parliamentary battle was waged, however, over the provision that the president and vice-president must be members of the Roman Catholic communion. Some pointed out that it was contrary to the liberal spirit of the present, and others maintained that it was not only pernicious, but utterly useless, because the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the nation were Roman Catholics, and would not elect a member of any other faith to the highest office of the nation. But many argued vehemently that the very fact of Roman Catholic numerical superiority in Argentina made it necessary

for the welfare of the country to guard against the possibility of any but a Roman Catholic president; and this view ultimately prevailed.

The period of office of the president and vice president is six years, and they cannot be reëlected without the interval of one term. The provision regarding temporary ineligibility to reëlection was inspired by the fear that the president, once safely installed in office, would declare himself supreme dictator for life, as have so many South American executives. The same safeguard is found in the most of the other Hispanic American constitutions. There are numerous other provisions in the Argentine constitution, intended to keep the executive within constitutional limits, for the Argentines know only too well from experience that the tendency of their presidents has been to arrogate to themselves powers never granted by the constitution and to forget their obligation to resign at the end of six years. "The President of the nation ceases to have power the very day that his term of six years expires," stipulates Art. 78, "and no event whatever which may have interrupted this term can be a reason for prolonging it."

The president and vice-president are elected by presidential electors from each province, chosen by direct vote of the people. They are voted for by separate tickets. The system is that used in the United States, with only a few slight differences in detail, and possesses the same defect of making possible the election of a minority candidate.

The powers of the president are enumerated in great detail in the constitution:

He is supreme head of the nation, and has in his care the general administration of the country. He has power to enact such laws and regulations as are necessary for the carrying out of the laws of the nation, taking care not to alter their spirit by means of regulating exceptions. He is the direct and local head of the capital of the nation.

Of course, the president does not exercise directly his control over the federal capital. The local executive of Buenos Aires is an intendente, or mayor, appointed by the president, by and



with the advice and consent of the senate; and the legislature consists of a deliberative council, similarly appointed. The iniquity of this system is freely admitted, and in the message which the president sent to congress in 1907 he advocated that the capital should have "a government of popular origin, even as have the most modest communes of the Republic." No action was taken, however, upon this suggestion for reform, and Buenos Aires, a city with a population of 1,615,223 at the beginning of the year 1919, still lacks democratic institutions.

The Argentine constitution deviates from its American model by providing that the president shall take part in the formation of laws in accordance with the constitution, in addition to approving and promulgating them. Another article stipulates that "all laws may originate in either house on the initiative of its respective members, or of the executive power. . . ." Thus the president, who is naturally in a better position than anyone else to know the needs of the country, is permitted to participate freely in the making of the country's laws, and to frame and to introduce into congress such measures as he may deem advisable, instead of making mere suggestions and recommendations, and leaving it to friendly congressmen to prepare measures which may in part meet his wishes. Good government requires sympathy and goodwill between the executive and the legislature. It is unreasonable, according to the Argentine viewpoint, to expect adequate enforcement of the laws by a branch of the government that has had no hand in their making.

The president is also given power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to appoint the magistrates of the supreme court, and of the inferior courts. He controls such matters as reprieves, pardons, the acceptance of resignations, and the granting of leaves of absence. The president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, names all officers whose appointment is not otherwise provided for by the constitution. The president of the Argentine nation, by himself alone, makes such appointments. There is thus put into the hands of the Argentine executive a tremendous power, for the man with positions to distribute is always sure of a large follow-

ing. There has been a tendency on the part of the presidents to abuse this privilege, but it is doubtful if the requirements of senatorial approval would mean more than that a greater number of politicians would share in the distribution of positions among their faithful henchmen. The Argentine president has power, by himself alone, to appoint and remove the members of his cabinet. This is a logical provision, since they are responsible only to him and their continuance in office must of necessity depend upon his pleasure.

The executive "prorogues the ordinary sessions of congress, or calls extraordinary sessions when grave questions of order or progress require it". Strangely enough, congress has no inherent right to meet until convoked by the president; nor can it adjourn without his sanction. Article 55 provides that:

Both houses shall meet in ordinary session every year, from the first of May until the thirtieth of September. They may also be convoked in extraordinary session, or prorogued by the president.

This article has been interpreted by the supreme court to mean that congress is entirely dependent upon the executive for its sessions to begin and to end. He has the right of convoking the two houses, either in ordinary or extraordinary session, and also of proroguing them. Should he refuse to convoke congress, there is apparently no constitutional remedy. This defect of the constitution has called forth severe criticism from prominent Argentines, among them such men as Nicolas A. Calvo, international lawyer and publicist.

The president

declares war, and grants letters of marque and reprisal, with the authority and approbation of congress.

He also

concludes and confirms treaties of peace, of commerce, of navigation, of alliance, of boundaries, and of neutrality; contracts all other negotiations required for the maintenance of amicable relations with foreign powers; he receives their ministers and admits their consuls.

The executive is thus charged with the control of the foreign relations of the nation, though subject to the approval of the legislature. As the supreme head of his country, it is but logical to make him its spokesman, and to grant him a large measure of discretion in directing the foreign policy. The same power that declares war also makes peace.

The Argentine constitution, like its model, makes its chief executive commander-in-chief of all land and naval forces of the nation. Troubled as it was for years by constant internal dissensions, threatened with invasion on numerous occasions with boundary disputes but recently settled, after it seemed that recourse to arms would be inevitable, Argentina has had good reason to maintain a well trained and thoroughly equipped army and navy. The military service of the Republic was reorganized in 1901, and is compulsory for all citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five. The chief executive thus becomes *ex officio* commander-in-chief of a large and efficient army and navy. He is given power to dispose of all military forces on land and sea, and to regulate their distribution and organization according to the necessities of the nation. This function is exercised, however, concurrently with congress, for another article of the constitution gives to that body the right

to dispose of the land and naval forces in times of peace and war; to make rules and regulations for the government of said forces.

There are numerous provisions in the constitution concerning the declaration of a state of siege, which involves the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. The president has the power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to declare that a state of siege exists in any part of the nation, in case of foreign attack. This power is exercised by congress in case of domestic disturbance, except when it is not in session, when the right is vested in the executive. While the framers of the constitution recognized the necessity of giving some branch of the government the right to declare martial law in case of widespread disorder, they were fearful that this power would be abused, and took care to surround it with numerous limitations.



In case of internal disturbance or foreign invasion which impedes the exercise of this constitution, and the action of the authorities created by it, the province or territory where the disturbance occurs shall be declared in a state of siege, all constitutional guarantees remaining suspended there. But during the suspension the president of the Republic shall have no power to condemn or to inflict punishment. In such a case his power over persons shall be limited to arrest and transportation from one point to another of the nation, in case they should refuse to leave the country.

These checks upon the power of the executive have been more honored in the breach than in the observance. On numerous occasions the entire nation has been declared in a state of siege; and various parts of the republic have been placed under martial law, with a consequent suspension of constitutional guarantees, more than thirty times since the promulgation of the constitution. The writ of habeas corpus has frequently been suspended without any regard to constitutional limitations. During the past few years, with the coming of a greater degree of political stability, the tendency has been to enforce more strictly the letter and the spirit of the fundamental law.

One of the strangest restrictions upon the actions of the president is that he may not leave the territory of the capital without the permission of congress, except during a recess of that body, when he may leave for reasons of the gravest public importance. This provision was inserted in the constitution as originally adopted in 1853. The citizens of Buoneos Aires were dissatisfied, and had refused to take any part in framing the document. Yet by special law Bueonos Aires had been made the capital of the nation, and was the city in which the federal officials must reside. The seeds of conflict were sprouting rapidly. The framers of the constitution hoped that the prestige of the president might be sufficient to prevent an open outbreak of hostilities while he while he remained in the capital, but feared that his absence might furnish a pretext for revolution. So it was agreed to require the continued residence of the president in Buenos Aires during his term of office. The necessity for this provision has long since passed, but the provision still remains.

The constitution, as adopted at Santa Fe in 1860, provided for a cabinet of five ministers: interior, foreign affairs, treasury, justice, education and public instruction, and war and navy. By an amendment adopted in 1898, the number of ministers was increased from five to eight, the departments of war and navy being separated, and those of agriculture and public works being added. It is a poor policy to have the number of the executive departments specifically stated in the constitution, because an amendment thus becomes necessary every time an additional department is created. There is no position in the Argentine cabinet corresponding to that of secretary of state in the United States, every portfolio being considered an equal honor, and equally desirable.

These ministers, according to the constitution.

shall have in their charge the dispatch of the affairs of the nation, and shall corroborate and legalize the acts of the president by means of their seals, without which requisite these acts will fail of their effect.

The next article provides that

every minister is responsible for the acts which he authorizes; and conjointly with his colleagues for those which he approves.

This would seem to establish definitely in Argentina the English system of responsible government. The provision was taken from the constitution of Chile, where the principle of ministerial responsibility to the legislature has long been recognized.

But in Argentina the words "Every minister is responsible for the act which he authorizes," is only a meaningless phrase. To whom are the ministers responsible? In practice they are responsible only to the president. He appoints them and removes them at his pleasure, and they stay in office as long as they have his confidence. Many of the framers of the constitution of Santa Fe thought they had definitely provided for ministerial responsibility, and on several occasions congress called for the resignation of the cabinet after a vote of confidence had failed to pass both houses. But the ministers refused to resign, and congress found itself powerless to compel them to take such action.

As early as 1863, President Mitre's minister of the interior, Dr. Rawson, in the chamber of deputies, denied the right of interpellation. He had been summoned to the chamber under the terms of Article 63, which provides that

Each house may require the presence of the ministers of the executive power, to receive from them any explanations or information that may be deemed necessary.

He declared, indeed,

I have not been called to be interpellated. Had I thought that, I should have refrained from coming, for I do not recognize the right of interpellation. I have come here to give information, and if the honorable deputy who has the question to ask does not wish to conform to the doctrine I have stated, I am very sorry; but that is our form of government. . . . Between the giving of information by the president through his ministers and the right of interpellation, there is as great a difference as exists between the English monarchy and the American republic.

One of the clearest expositions of the Argentine doctrine is found in a message which President Sarmiento sent to the senate. According to his interpretation, the provision that each house may require the presence of members of the cabinet, in order to receive from them explanations or information, merely means that ministers may be compelled to attend the legislative sessions. Once in attendance, they cannot be compelled to give the desired information, or to participate in the meetings, for that is merely a right granted to them by another article of the constitution, and cannot be converted into an obligation. This reasoning seems dangerously like sophistry—a mere splitting of hairs to avoid the spirit of the law—but it has been accepted by such eminent statesmen as Mitre, Sarsfield, Rawson, Avellaneda, and Costa, and has become a fundamental part of the Argentine system of government.

The right of the ministers to attend the meetings of congress, though they may not vote, is a logical corollary of the president's right to participate in legislation. The executive may always have his direct representatives before congress, ready at any



time to present fully his position. A bill framed by the executive department of the government need not be entirely abandoned to the tender mercies of an oftentimes hostile legislature. In order to keep them entirely free from legislative influence, members of the cabinet are forbidden to become either senators or deputies, unless they resign from office. This restriction is not found in the constitution of Chile, from which so many of the provisions of the Argentine constitution relating to the executive are taken.

#### THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

The legislative power is vested in a congress composed of two houses, namely, a chamber of deputies and a senate. The chamber of deputies is composed of representatives elected directly by the people of the provinces and of the capital, in the proportion of one for each thirty-three thousand inhabitants. The proportion originally agreed upon was one for each twenty thousand, but the population grew so rapidly that in 1898 it was found necessary to amend the constitution. It was also found necessary to modify the system of election of deputies. At first all members of the lower house were elected at large, every voter in a province being permitted to cast his ballot for every deputy from that province. This was the ideal of Alberdi, who wrote: "Each deputy represents the nation, not the people who elect him". But this practice naturally prevented a fair representation of minorities. In fact, it was even possible for a majority of the deputies to represent a minority of the voters. The system was finally abandoned, and in its place was substituted the American method of dividing the larger units into regular electoral districts.

The constitution declares that

To be a deputy one must have attained the age of twenty-five years, exercised the rights of citizenship four years, and must be a native of the province which elects him, or have resided there for two years immediately preceding.

In the debates over the constitution, strenuous objections were raised to the residential requirement. Some of the sparsely

settled provinces felt that it might be more to their advantage to have the privilege of selecting representatives from neighboring provinces; but the more thickly settled districts were sufficiently powerful to force the adoption of the clause.

Article 41 provides that "Congress shall formulate a general law for . . . elections". The right of determining the franchise is thus granted to the federal government, instead of to the provinces. Uniformity in this matter is of greater importance in Argentina than the preservation of local autonomy, because there is not the diversity of economic and social conditions among the Argentine provinces that is found among the states of the American Union. Deputies are elected for a four-year period and are eligible for reelection. Half of the chamber is renewed every two years.

All laws concerning taxes and the levying of troops must originate in the chamber of deputies. The right of the lower house to control the purse strings of the nation is of course purely historical, dating from the time when it was wrested from an unwilling monarch by representatives of the people. The right of the chamber of deputies to exclusive initiation of legislation in regard to the levying of troops has no historical precedent; but the control of the army is so essential to any dictator wishing to maintain himself in power that it was thought best to entrust this matter to the popular branch of the legislature.

As under the American system, the lower house is given the exclusive right to impeach members of the executive and judicial departments, the senate sitting for this purpose in a judicial capacity. This article contains a most unusual provision, however, since it confers the right of impeachment for common crimes. The framers of the constitution of Santa Fé evidently confused the functions of the legislature and the judiciary in giving congress the power to take cognizance of common crimes, a power reserved to the courts in every other civilized country of the world.

The senate is composed of two senators from each province, elected by their respective legislatures, and two senators from the capital. Though representing the legislatures, and not the

people, the members of the Argentine senate have complete freedom of action, and are never directed by the provincial assemblies how to vote, as was so frequently done in the United States before the passage of the seventeenth amendment.

In order to be elected senator, one must have attained the age of thirty years, have been six years a citizen of the nation, and be a native of the province from which one is elected, or to have resided there for two years immediately preceding election. There is also an income requirement of approximately two thousand American dollars annually. This income qualification is only one of numerous provisions which serve to demonstrate the inherent conservatism of the men who framed the Argentine constitution. Indeed, conservatism seems to be a characteristic of the entire nation. At the present time (1922) the radical party is in control of the government, but this party is radical in name only, and is almost as conservative in its economic policies as the conservatives themselves. The so-called socialist party has a wide following in Buenos Aires and other cities, but is very moderate in its demands.

The term of office of senators is nine years, and senators are eligible for reelection for any number of terms. One-third of the senate is renewed every three years. The vice-president is ex-officio president of the body. As seen above, the senate is given judiciary capacity in cases of impeachment. It is also given the right to declare any part of the republic in a state of siege, in case of foreign invasion. The constitution does not provide whether the president may declare a state of martial law in case of external attack if congress is not in session, but as he may do so in case of internal commotion, which is less serious, it is taken for granted that he may do so.

Article 56 stipulates that:

Each house is the judge of the election, rights, titles, and qualifications of its members. Neither house may enter into session without an absolute majority of its members; but a smaller number may compel the attendance of the absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.



The wording of this section has been justly criticised. If neither house may enter into session without an absolute majority of its members, how may a smaller number compel the attendance of those absent? Without entering into session? If this minority does enter into session, contrary to the stipulations of the constitution, how can it apply "such penalties as each house may provide?" As a minority, or after the return of the delinquents? And will the offenders vote for their own punishment? The form is very defective, being a bad translation into Spanish of the English original. In practice, a majority is required in order to enter into ordinary session, or to deliberate; but if a quorum does not exist, a smaller number may call the session, fixing it for another day, and compelling, meanwhile, the absent ones to attend, under penalties which the chamber has already determined, or which it shall determine when it meets as a quorum.

The Argentine congress is vested with power over a wider variety of activities than the congress of the United States. It is empowered to legislate concerning import and export duties, to impose direct taxes, for a definite period of time and in equal proportion throughout the whole territory of the nation, to contract loans on the credit of the Republic, and to direct the use and sale of national lands. Argentina has consistently maintained a high protective tariff ever since the adoption of the constitution, hoping in this way to protect the industries that even yet have scarcely begun to make their appearance. Manufactured goods are charged almost prohibitive rates, but raw materials are admitted on more favorable terms. European and American manufacturers evade the tariff laws by importing the various parts of the articles they have to sell, and then establishing in Argentina "manufacturing establishments" which are little more than assembling plants. As would naturally be expected, the high import duties add greatly to the cost of living in the republic. The apparently endless amount of red tape connected with the customs houses is a source of never ending irritation to foreign shippers. But with it all Argentine foreign trade has prospered, and has increased steadily year by year. The total value, in gold pesos, of the imports during 1921 was,

approximately, 635,000,000 gold pesos, and of the exports, 672,000,000 pesos. The balance of trade is thus slightly in favor of Argentina, and has been for a number of years. This is necessary to maintain the position whereby the republic is enabled to meet the interest payments on its foreign debts. The gold peso is the unit of currency, and has a value of five francs, or \$0.96475. The money in circulation is, however, chiefly paper pesos, which have a value fixed by the conversion law 1899 at forty-four per cent of the gold peso, or \$0.42449.

Congress is given power

to establish and regulate a national bank in the capital, and its branches in the provinces, with power to issue bills of credit.

The framers of the constitution intended to create a bank of the nation, with the power of note issue, and divorced from politics. But the result was to bring fiscal matters directly into politics. Indeed, Argentina has suffered for years from the extravagant and unscrupulous use of its national credit for the promotion of schemes calculated to benefit individuals rather than the public. The great increase in military expenditures during the disputes with Chile, and the high cost of maintaining the struggle with Brazil for naval supremacy have also helped to increase the burden. A certain percentage of Argentina's population is poor and apparently unprogressive, and cannot be expected to bear its share of the costs of government. These costs are met mainly by the high tariff on imported merchandise, and by excise and stamp duties of a far-reaching and often vexatious character. Nothing is permitted to escape taxation, and duplicated taxes on the same thing are frequent. In Argentina these burdens bear heavily upon the laboring classes, and in years of depression thousands of immigrants leave the country, unable to meet the high costs of living. For the year 1900 the total expenditures of the national government, fourteen provincial governments, and sixteen principal cities were estimated to have been 208,811,925 pesos paper, or 91,877,247 pesos gold. This means that the cost of government for that year was nearly twenty American dollars for every man,

woman, and child in the republic. More than seventy per cent of this charge was on account of national expenditures.

There is a Banco de la Nación, which has been established upon a sound basis, and which in 1906 had deposits amounting to 167,989,000 pesos, with a capital of 54,000,000 paper pesos, and 3,700,000 gold pesos. This bank had a subscribed capital of about 150,000,000 paper pesos on December 31, 1921, and had received cash amounting to 23,000,000 gold pesos and 410,000,000 paper pesos. At the same time its deposits in commercial and savings accounts totalled 919,965 gold pesos and 1,303,413,692 paper pesos. Discounts and advances were 3,316 gold pesos and about 904,000,000 paper pesos. The power of note issue is not possessed, however, by this institution, as provided by the constitution, but directly by the national government, which has adopted the independent treasury system. These measures have served to give greater stability to the value of the circulating medium, and to prevent the ruinous losses caused by constant fluctuations in value, but the rate established prevents the further appreciation of the currency. There is a well-defined movement among Argentine bankers to establish a banking system similar to the federal reserve system of the United States.

Congress is given power "to arrange for the foreign and domestic debt of the nation". This provision is superfluous, since another clause gives that body the right "to contract loans on the credit of the nation". Payments on the national debt have long been the largest item of public expenditure, and the debt is constantly growing, the annual budget still showing a considerable deficit. The national revenues and expenditures for the thirty-seven years from 1864 to 1900, inclusive, show a total deficit for the period of 408,260,795 pesos gold, this being met by internal and external loans, and by a continued increase in the scope and rate of taxation. In 1918 Argentina's total debt was the equivalent of 866,380,000 American dollars, and the budget for that year showed a deficit of 17,577,174 paper pesos.

The constitution provides that congress shall

grant sums from the national treasury to those provinces whose revenues do not cover, according to their estimate, the ordinary expenses.



While these subsidies to the provinces are only loans, and must eventually be repaid, the provincial governments have frequently been unable to resist the temptation of securing popularity with their constituents by rolling up expenses and leaving the bills to be paid by the national government. Of course, some day there must come a reckoning, but that is left for future administrations. In the period from 1887 to 1903 several provinces increased their expenditures more than 100 per cent without anything like a corresponding increase in revenue; and one permitted an increase of 500 per cent. The federal government is now gradually reducing these subsidies with the constant increase in economic development throughout the country.

The Argentine constitution departs radically from its model by giving congress the power to dictate the civil, commercial, penal, and mining codes, the laws on these subjects thus to be made uniform throughout the entire nation. A wide field of exclusive jurisdiction is still left to the provincial tribunals, however, and the system has resulted in securing uniform enforcement of law throughout the country, without destroying the autonomy of the provinces. In 1862 congress declared the commercial code existing in Buenos Aires at that time to be the national code. A new commercial code was adopted in 1889, and has since been modified on several occasions; but it still shows the influence of the old Spanish commercial code of 1829. The civil code was adopted in 1869, and was amended nineteen years later so as to permit civil marriages, which had not previously been recognised. In 1866 were adopted the criminal and mining codes.

Naturalization and citizenship, bankruptcy, and counterfeiting of securities and current coin of the state are all matters upon which congress is given power to legislate. Under the same heading are included laws requiring the establishment of trial by jury, and another article specifically provides that:

Congress shall promote reforms in the present legislation in all its branches, and shall establish trial by jury.

Under the terms of this article a bill was introduced into the senate in 1879, providing that after January 1, 1872, trial should be

by jury in both federal and provincial courts. The fact that no question was raised as to the constitutionality of this bill shows the extent to which the provinces have been subordinated to the general government. Numerous questions as to its expediency were raised, however, and after the bill had passed the upper house it was so amended in the chamber of deputies that the senate refused to consent to the changes, and no agreement could be reached. In October, 1871, an act was passed by both houses providing that the executive should appoint a commission consisting of two persons, who should study the matter. The president appointed two Argentine scholars, who made a voluminous report to congress in 1874, and there the matter rested. It has not been acted upon since. Most of the lawyers, familiar with the old legal system, and believing that the people are not sufficiently well educated to make trial by jury a success, have consistently opposed the change, and have been able to prevent its introduction.

Congress is given control of foreign and inter-provincial commerce, and of post offices and post roads. In practice it also exercises a large measure of control over intra-provincial commerce, having nearly as much power in this matter as any highly centralized government. It is required

to fix definitely the territorial limits of the nation and those of the provinces, to erect new provinces and to determine by special legislation the organization, administration, and government to be established in the national territory which is outside the limits assigned to the provinces.

When the constitution of Santa Fe was adopted, the boundaries of the nation were unsettled. Several wars seemed almost certain as a result of territorial altercations, but every dispute was settled without resort to arms.

Difficult as it was to settle the nation's boundaries, it proved almost impossible to fix the provincial limits. Every province laid claim to far more than its rightful share of the territory of the nation; some were even more exorbitant in their demands. Congress appointed a commission, but no agreement could be

reached. In 1882, a law was passed to permit the provinces to settle their boundary disputes by arbitration, if they could. This method finally solved the difficulty. Argentine statesmen frequently were chosen as arbiters, and on more than one occasion the supreme court acted in that capacity. All the disputes were finally settled in a peaceful manner.

The 16th paragraph of Article 67 is modeled upon the "general welfare" clause of the constitution of the United States, but it is very much more comprehensive than its American prototype. It gives to congress power

to provide for all that conduces to the prosperity of the country, to the advancement and well-being of all the provinces, and to the progress of education, prescribing plans for general and university instruction, promoting industry, immigration, the building of railroads and navigable canals, the colonization of national lands, the introduction and establishment of new industries, the importation of foreign capital, and the exploration of interior rivers by laws protecting their banks, by temporary concessions of privilege, and by the offer of rewards.

This clause has been interpreted liberally by the courts, and has resulted in direct federal control over a great many matters which in the United States are the subject only of state regulation. One of these is education.

In practice, the question of the regulation of public instruction has been delegated to the executive and it is for him to determine the general plans which congress is authorized by law to make. According to Article 5, the constitution of each province must provide for primary instruction, and for this purpose the provinces are subsidized by the general government. Until 1905, federal control of primary education was largely indirect, but on October 17 of that year a law was passed providing that the national government should proceed to establish directly, in those provinces soliciting it, a system of elementary schools. Under this law the control of elementary education is rapidly passing into the hands of the federal government.

Primary education is free, and is subsidized by the provincial and general governments. It is secular and nominally compulsory between the ages of six and fourteen. Secular education



has been vigorously opposed by strict churchmen, and efforts have been made to maintain separate schools under church control. In the national capital and territories, control is vested in a national council of education, with the assistance of local school boards; and this council is also rapidly assuming control in the provinces under the provisions of the act of 1905. Despite large expenditures for educational purposes 35.1 per cent of the population was illiterate as recently as 1919.

One of the aims of the framers of the constitution was to encourage European immigration. Not only is congress given the right to promote immigration, but Article 25 specifically provides that

the federal government shall encourage European immigration, and shall not restrict, limit or oppress with any taxes whatever the entrance into Argentine territory of foreigners who come with the intention of engaging in agriculture, improving industries, and introducing and teaching sciences and arts.

Under the terms of this article a bureau of emigration has been established, which in 30 years has spent 50,000,000 pesos in its attempts to attract immigrants to the republic. Special agents have been established in Europe for the purpose of circulating propaganda. Free lands are offered to desirable immigrants, and the passage money is often advanced. The constitution grants to foreigners some special privileges not even enjoyed by natives of the country. From 1857 to 1917 the number of immigrants by sea was 4,762,067, Italians predominating, with Spaniards a close second. From 1914 down to the end of 1918, however, abnormal world conditions resulted in a considerable excess of emigration over immigration. However, reconstruction since 1918 has caused the pendulum to swing back again. Whereas, the immigration in 1918 was only 50,622 against an emigration of 59,908, during 1919 and 1920 there was an immigration of 69,879 and 155,322 respectively as against an emigration for these years of 67,710 and 104,731. That is, for the three years 1918 to 1920 there was an immigration of 275,823 and an emigration of 232,349. Of course, in all considerations regarding

the movement of people to and from Argentina, one should bear in mind the seasonal immigration made up very largely of Italians who go back and forth between Italy and Argentina yearly, following the harvests.

It has been held by the courts that the right possessed by congress to build railroads includes the right to operate them, and also to exempt them from all taxation, either national or provincial. The Province of Santa Fe laid a tax upon the Central Argentine Railroad, a corporation chartered by the national government, and the railroad appealed to the supreme court, which ruled that the money must be refunded. The development of railroads in Argentina has been rapid. During the first half of the nineteenth century not a single rail was laid, but in 1854, a law of the Province of Buenos Aires provided for the construction of a railroad, and three years later this was opened to the public with a total length of ten kilometers (6.2 miles). On January 1, 1922, the ways open to traffic had a total mileage of 22,741, of which 3835 (17.3 per cent) belonged to the state. The telegraph lines on January 1, 1921, had a mileage of 52,070 of which the national government owned 25,167.

The legislative body is given the right to grant amnesties, as opposed to our custom of vesting this function in the executive. It has exercised the right on numerous occasions, following political disturbances. The clause giving congress power to grant pensions has been a source of wholesale corruption and graft. A number of bills were introduced for the purpose of correcting the evil, but they were so amended in the two chambers that they lost all practical value. But in 1904 was passed a law creating the Caja Nacional de Jubilaciones y Pensiones (Bureau of Superannuation and Pensions), which is to pass upon all matters relating to pensions. This bureau has developed an efficient organization, and is rapidly putting a stop to illegitimate drains from this source upon the Argentine treasury.

Congress is given a large measure of control over the land and naval forces of the nation. It makes rules and regulations for their government, and also for the organizing, arming, and disciplining of that portion of the provincial militia which may be

employed in the service of the general government. The enforcement of the regulations concerning provincial militia is entrusted, however, to the provincial authorities. Congress is also given power to permit the entrance of foreign troops into the territory of the nation, and the departure of the national forces.

After a bill has been passed by both houses, it goes to the executive for his signature. This must be done even if the bill has been initiated by the executive. One president introduced a measure, and subsequently vetoed it after it had passed both houses in its original form. Congress brought judicial action to compel him to promulgate the law, on the ground that his original proposal obligated him to do so since no amendments had been added. But the supreme court refused to accept this reasoning, and declared that if the president, after introducing a measure had reason to believe that its passage was no longer desirable for the best interests of the nation, he was free to veto it.

Every bill not returned to congress by the executive within ten working days automatically becomes law. The Argentine constitution contains no provision similar to the "pocket veto" of the American system, whereby the executive may prevent the passage of a bill in the closing days of the legislative session by failing to affix his signature. Instead, every measure not approved by the Argentine president within ten working days thereby becomes law, even if the chambers have adjourned before the expiration of the period. This arrangement has worked poorly in practice, because it has permitted a great deal of foolish and even vicious legislation to be crowded into the last two or three days of the session, when there is not sufficient time to consider every bill in detail. The constitution of the United States provides for approval within ten days, exclusive of Sundays, while that of Argentina requires approval within ten working days. This provision, taken from the constitution of Chile, was intended to allow for the great number of feast or Saints' days.

No bill failing to pass either house can be reconsidered in any session of the same year. Amendments may be made by either



house, and must ordinarily receive the sanction of the other chamber before going to the president for his signature. But there is a peculiar provision of the Argentine constitution which permits a two-thirds majority in one house, operating in harmony with the president, to enact legislation contrary to the desires of the other chamber. When a bill has been amended in one chamber, and those amendments have been disapproved by the chamber of its origin, it again returns to the revising house. If the amendments are there approved a second time by a majority of two-thirds of the members, the bill returns to the originating house, which can then reject the proposed amendments only by casting a two-thirds vote in opposition to them. This dangerous provision makes possible the control of the government by a small faction of the representatives of the people. The senate, elected for nine years, registers but slowly the frequent changes in the popular will, and a majority of its members, still holding office by virtue of a mandate given indirectly and long since forgotten, may force the passage of legislation contrary to the will of the popular house. The veto possessed by the executive is suspensive, not absolute, since it may be overridden by a two-thirds majority vote of both chambers.

#### THE JUDICIAL POWER

At the head of the federal judicial system is the supreme court, consisting of five judges and an attorney general. It exercises original jurisdiction over all matters relating to ambassadors, ministers, and foreign consuls, and in any case where a province is a party. It has appellate jurisdiction over all cases which relate to points touched upon in the constitution, and to the laws of the nation, and to all admiralty and maritime cases; its appellate jurisdiction also extends to all cases to which the nation is a party, and to those arising between two or more provinces, between a province and citizens of another province, between citizens of different provinces, between a province or its citizens and a foreign citizen or state. No one can be a member of the supreme court unless he is a lawyer of eight years' standing in the nation, and possesses all the qualifications requisite for a senator.

Below the supreme court there are four courts of appeal, composed of three judges each, situated in the cities of Buenos Aires, La Plata, Parana, and Cordoba. The lowest federal courts are the circuit courts, three of them in the capital, and one in each province. They have jurisdiction over many matters reserved exclusively to state tribunals in the United States. Aliens have the right of choosing between federal and provincial jurisdiction in both civil and criminal prosecutions. All federal judges hold office during good behavior.

The provincial judiciary consists of judges advocate, justices of the peace, and superior tribunals, called the supreme court in some provinces, and in other the superior tribunal of justice. In the province of Buenos Aires, immediately below the supreme court, there are courts of appeal. The judges advocate exercise both federal and common jurisdiction in the territories.

Ordinarily, the trial of a criminal case is held in the province in which the act is alleged to have been committed, but the Argentine constitution differs from its American model by providing that if the act has been committed

outside the limits of the nation against the law of nations, Congress shall determine by a special law the place where justice shall be administered.

In other words, the federal tribunals are given jurisdiction over criminal acts which may have been committed upon foreign soil.

The civil and criminal courts of the nation are both corrupt and dilatory. In May, 1899, the minister of justice stated in the chamber of deputies that the machinery of the courts was antiquated, unwieldy, and incapable of performing its duties; that fifty thousand cases were then awaiting decision in the minor courts, and ten thousand in the federal division; and that a reconstruction of the judicial system had become necessary. In June, 1899, he sent his plan of reorganization to congress, but no action was taken beyond referring the bill to a committee for examination and report. There the matter has rested ever since and Argentina is still struggling under the burden of an unwieldy and well-nigh useless judicial system inherited from Spain.

## GENERAL PROVISIONS

It was inevitable that Argentina should eventually adopt the federal system of government, as stipulated in the first article of its constitution. Though the forces of a common tongue, religion, customs, legislation, administration, and common sacrifices in the cause of liberty all tended to weld the people together into a common bond, there were also decentralizing tendencies. For many years the provinces had enjoyed practical independence of one another, and of a common superior. They were unwilling to sacrifice their own petty interests and jealousies for the welfare of the nation. Federalism was the natural compromise. And so they turned to the constitution of the United States for a solution of their problems. "It is the one model of true federation that exists anywhere in the world", enthusiastically declared Dr. Gorostiga, one of the delegates to the constitutional convention of 1853. It was not long, however, before the framers abandoned in part their model, in order to maintain their religious heritage from Spain, by declaring that "the Federal Government supports the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church". Some wished to go still farther, and add that Roman Catholicism was the only true faith. But this was voted down, because it was argued that such a statement would not represent the belief of all the citizens of the new nation; and that, while the state might support the religion of the vast majority, it had no right to declare the faith of a minority false. From statistics of 1895 it appears that in each 1,000 of the population, 991 are Roman Catholics, 7 Protestants, and 2 Jews, the Jews being entirely of Russian origin, sent into the Republic since 1891 by the Jewish Colonization Association under the provisions of the will of Maurice Baron de Hirsch, an Austrian Jewish financier and philanthropist, who bequeathed more than \$50,000,000 for the purpose of establishing Hebrew colonies in Argentina. Between 1895 and 1908 the number of Jews in the country increased from 6,085 to 30,000.

The federal government provides an annual subsidy for the purpose of maintaining the Roman Catholic churches and clergy. Churches and chapels are also founded and maintained by religious

orders and private gifts. At the head of the Argentine hierarchy stand one archbishop and five suffragan bishops, who have five seminaries for the education of the priesthood.

The framers of the constitution took the greatest care to protect the rights of foreigners, as well as those of the citizens of the new nation. Aliens were encouraged to become citizens by means of numerous concessions. It was hoped that these measures would encourage immigration. Though the Argentine "bill of rights" includes all the inhabitants of the nation, thus embracing foreigners and nationals alike, the protection of foreigners is made doubly certain by the insertion of another clause, which stipulates that they

shall enjoy in the territory of the Nation the same civil rights as are vested in the citizens; they shall be allowed to engage in industrial, commercial, and professional occupations; to own, hold, and sell real estate; to navigate the rivers and travel along the coasts; to practice freely their religion; to dispose of their property by will, and to contract marriage according to the laws. They are not bound to become citizens, nor to pay forced extraordinary taxes. . . .

The national policy towards immigrants from other lands is thus clearly set forth in the fundamental law, and not left to the caprice of politicians. Naturalization is permitted after a residence of but two consecutive years in the Republic, and even this short period may be reduced upon application, and proof that the applicant has rendered special services to the nation.

The rights of all the inhabitants of the Argentine nation, guaranteed by the constitution, have been taken almost *in toto* from the constitution of the United States. Few of them indeed were recognized in the days of the Spanish domination, and matters were but little improved under the reigns of successive dictators. With the adoption of the constitution of Santa Fe, and the eventual unification of the nation, these guarantees have become something more than sonorous phrases in the mouths of political orators, and to-day most of them are carefully respected in practice. One seldom hears the highly suggestive question of the Argentine politicians of the old school: "What is a constitution among friends?"



Among the guarantees of the constitution are included the right to work and engage in lawful industry, to navigate and engage in commerce, to petition the authorities, to enter and leave the territory of the nation, or remain in it, to publish ideas without previous censorship, to use and dispose of property, and to associate for useful purposes. The attempt to insert full religious guarantees met with strong opposition in the constitutional convention. Some delegates maintained that a common faith was essential to national unity. But even clericals refused to uphold this proposal. Catholicism, they declared, had nothing to fear from other religions. The strongest argument, however, was the economic one. "How," asked some of the delegates, "can we expect men to come from other lands, if we do not permit them to worship as in the homes of their fathers?" The fear of restricting immigration insured the passage of the provision guaranteeing to all men the right freely to profess their religion. The final vote was 30 to 5.

A fundamental principle of Argentine law is the inviolability of private property. The right of expropriation is strictly limited and can be exercised only with previous indemnification. The operation of this law has seriously hampered the municipalities in carrying out their plans for public works. In 1884, for example, a law was passed authorizing the City of Buenos Aires to expropriate property for the purpose of constructing the Avenida de Mayo, the great central boulevard of the capital. Under this law considerable property was taken over by the city on either side of the proposed avenue, in order to prevent the possible erection of unsightly buildings. The owners of the property protested, however, and the court upheld them. The municipality, it said, could expropriate only such land as it needed directly for the project. This decision protected individual rights, even at the cost of sacrificing the needs of the community.

The Argentine constitution also guarantees numerous other rights which, according to the Anglo-Saxon conception of liberty, are absolutely fundamental. Among them are the right of habeas corpus, the inviolability of person and property—sub-

ject, of course, to necessary exceptions—the prohibition of ex post facto legislation, the prohibition of torture, and of the death penalty for political crimes. In this article is also found a most unusual provision:

The prisons of the nation shall be healthful and clean, with the purpose of keeping safely, not of punishing, the criminals detained in them; and all measures which, under the pretext of precaution, cause undue mortification, shall be laid to the charge of the judge who authorizes them.

For a long time after the adoption of the constitution this clause represented little more than a hope, but today it has become in large measure a reality. The national government spends annually more than a million and a half pesos on its penal institutions. Schools have been established within the prison walls, with a corps of competent instructors, to teach the illiterate. Workshops have been introduced, in order to teach men trades. Nothing has been left undone to make the prisoners useful members of society at the expiration of their sentences.

The constitution of the United States provides that the right of the people to bear arms shall not be denied. Under Argentine law this right has been converted into an obligation:

Every Argentine citizen is obliged to take up arms in defense of his country and of this constitution. . . .

This provision has been strictly interpreted, and the regular training of the Argentine youth has produced an efficient military organization. In order to make naturalization still more attractive, naturalized citizens are exempted from the provisions of this clause for a period of ten years after obtaining their final papers.

A very significant article of the Argentine constitution, in view of the turbulent history of the republic, is that which stipulates that

The people do not deliberate and govern except through representatives and authorities created by the constitution. Every armed force or gathering which assumes the rights of the people and petitions in their name is guilty of the crime of sedition.

No one wished to prohibit peaceful gatherings, but it was hoped to prevent those revolutionary uprisings from which the country had suffered so frequently. As a matter of fact, the federal government has gradually acquired the long desired stability, as the people have learned to appreciate the advantages of democracy. There has been no successful uprising of any importance since 1890, and at that time the people were roused to fury by the unpatriotic acts of an unscrupulous executive. President Celman had been squandering the revenues of the country without regard to the day of reckoning, and systematically robbing the national treasury with the aid of his friends from Cordoba. The leaders of public opinion in the capital, feeling that conditions were intolerable, called a great mass meeting of the people. As announced in the daily papers, the gathering was to be peaceful and was for the purpose of discussing measures of reform "in the English style". But President Celman was taking no chances with the "English style" of public meeting; perhaps he remembered the good old English crowd that once gathered to protest against the actions of Charles I. At any rate, he hastily wrote out his resignation, and sent it to be read to the populace. The bloodless revolution had accomplished its purpose.

Amendment is made to the constitution by means of a convention called for that specific purpose, two-thirds of each house of congress first having declared the need of a change. The constitution of 1853 originally provided that all proposed amendments should originate in the senate, the indirectly elected and therefore more conservative chamber, and also that no amendment should go into effect until ten years after it had been approved by the people. Fortunately, these restrictions were removed when Buenos Aires became a part of the nation. Even yet, however, it is exceedingly difficult to modify the fundamental law; the extreme conservatism of the Argentine people manifests itself in their desire to make change as difficult as possible.

Following the example of their American model, the framers of the Argentine constitution declared the constitution, the laws of the nation passed by congress in accordance with it, and

treaties with foreign nations to be the supreme law of the land. This provision has been interpreted in its fullest sense, giving the general government even more power in many ways than that exercised by the federal government of the United States.

Liberty of the press is fully guaranteed, and carried out in practice. In fact, this right has been a fundamental part of Argentine law from the time that freedom was won from Spain. As early as 1811 the patriots issued a decree which stated:

The Government, faithful to its principles, wishes to restore to the American (Argentine) people, by means of political liberty of the press, that precious right of nature which an outworn abuse of power has usurped from them, in the firm belief that it is the one method of communicating the truth, of forming public opinion, and of consolidating that unity of sentiment which is the real strength of states.

More than once, since the declaration of this principle, has the freedom of the press been denied in Argentina, but today it has been established upon a sound basis.

The residuum of power remains with the Argentine provinces, following the American system, the constitution providing that the provinces are to retain all powers not delegated to the federal government. Broad powers have been vested in the general government, however, and although the provinces have remained autonomous, they are clearly subordinated to the nation. The provinces are given the right, with the consent of congress, to enter into treaties with one another for the purpose of administering justice, or of encouraging economic development. Several of the small interior provinces have taken advantage of this provision to establish a common judiciary. Internal improvements are often undertaken by them in concert.

The final article of the constitution states that:

The governors of the provinces are the legitimate agents of the federal government for the purpose of enforcing the observance of the constitution and the laws of the nation.

This provision would increase still further the dominance of the central government but for the fact that in practice it is unenforceable. The provincial governors are made the agents of



the federal government, but they are responsible to no one for the faithful performance of this duty. The clause was framed by Alberdi, the "father of the Argentine constitution", who also provided that governors of provinces might be impeached by the chamber of deputies before the senate. This would have given the central government a measure of control over the provincial authorities. But it was stricken out, leaving the governors to do as they pleased. Despite the admonition of the constitution, it is seldom that they feel obliged to enforce federal laws, and this work is left largely in the hands of the federal authorities.

The patriots of the Río de la Plata who consecrated their lives to the task of freeing their country from Spanish tyranny talked glibly of liberty and democracy. But with them the words were little more than empty phrases; they knew not how to bestow, and the nation knew not how to receive, a government based upon the sovereignty of the people. The masses were ignorant and poverty-stricken; their leaders had been trained in the school of absolutism. And so for more than half a century there alternated periods of hopeless anarchy and remorseless despotism, but thinly veiled behind the forms of free government. Even the adoption of the present constitution did not mark the end of the struggle, though it paved the way for national unity. Gradually, however, the people began to interest themselves in the affairs of their country, and to participate in its government. Reforms were demanded and obtained. The ideal of democracy became a reality.

Many changes are still needed in the form of government of the republic. The entire judicial system must be reorganized along the lines of modern jurisprudence, and freed of its antiquated Spanish traditions. The senate must be democratized. The masses of the people, half of them still illiterate, must be educated to an appreciation of the duties as well as the privileges of citizenship. The leaders must be made to realize more fully their duty to the nation. But all these things will come in the fulness of time. The fight for democracy has been won, and Argentina has taken her rightful place among the great free nations of the world.

AUSTIN F. MACDONALD.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Ensayo Histórico sobre la Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno. (Contribución al Estudio de los Aspectos Político, Jurídico y Económico de la Revolución de 1810.)* By RICARDO LEVENE. 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales [Imprenta y Casa Editora "Coni"], 1920-1921. Pp. vii, 599; and iv, 541. Paper.)

This work is volumes VIII and IX of a series, entitled "Estudios editados por la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad de Buenos Aires". This series is published in accordance with the following regulations of October 11, 1911:

Art. 1. The Faculty will publish, as often as possible, works on law and social sciences, to wit:

- a) Those of its academicians, counsellors, and professors.
- b) Those the subject of which it determines, whoever may be the authors.
- c) Theses of special merit, when two-thirds of the votes of the directive council so determine.
- d) Those which the directive council by a special decision resolves to publish.

Art. 2. These works will be numbered progressively, and each one will constitute a volume of the collection, unless it be possible to form one volume from two or more.

Art. 3. The collection will be entitled "Estudios editados por la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad de Buenos Aires."

Art. 4. One thousand copies will be printed of each work, one hundred of which shall be given to each author. The others will be distributed among institutions of law, public libraries, and persons devoted to juridical and social studies.

Art. 5. If any work should have a special circulation because of its nature, a greater number of copies can be printed, and those which it is believed advisable can be sold.

Art. 6. All matters referring to this publication will be in charge of a committee composed of three counsellors, appointed in the manner and at the time stated in the regulations.<sup>1</sup>

In the first volume of the work under mention, are discussed those events having a revolutionary character during the time of the viceroyalty and up to 1810; and in the second, the revolutionary movement of May, 1810, and its unfolding up to the end of the same year. The author states that the study of the causes and antecedents of the revolution do not form a part of the work, because of the immensity of such a task. Instead it studies matters which had a revolutionary significance as being contrary to the existing legal organization. The revolution of 1810 is regarded by Dr. Levene as a part of the general revolutionary movement that occurred near the end of the eighteenth century, of the peaceful reforms of the Bourbon kings of Spain, and their result in America, and in fact, a part of the whole Hispanic American revolution.

Although, the military and political events of the revolutionary movement of May, 1810, appear to be the more striking, the civil results as exhibited in an institutional, economic, and juridical sense, are the more intimate and important, the author declares. The work, characterized by the author in his preface as only an essay, is the result of patient investigation carried on in the archives of Argentina. Something of the method of treatment may be seen by an enumeration of chapter titles. The first volume contains fifteen chapters, as follows:

Lucha por el derecho nuevo.

Versación del núcleo revolucionario en materia de derecho público indiano.

Un precursor de la emancipación de América: Victoriano de Villava.

Posición de los americanos en la contienda entre Villava y Paulo Sanz.

Labor de Moreno en carácter de letrado.

Cabildo abierto de 14 de agosto de 1806 y junta de guerra de 10 de febrero de 1807.

Ocho mil hombres bajo las armas.

Amago de motín de octubre de 1808 y asonada del 1° de enero de 1809.

Significado de la asonada del 1° de enero.

Crisis del régimen rentista colonial.

Comercio libre.

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<sup>1</sup> Books already published are as follows:

Historia del Derecho Argentino. By Dr. C. O. Bunge. 2 vols.

Causas instruidas en Buenos Aires durante los Siglos XVII y XVIII, con Introducción del Doctor Tomás Jofré. 1 vol.

El Derecho Público de las Provincias Argentinas. By Dr. Juan P. Ramos. 3 vols.

La Magistratura Indiana. By Dr. Enrique Rufz Guiñazú. 1 vol.

Comercio libre. La obra económica de Manuel Belgrano. Representación de hacendados y labradores de Mariano Moreno.

Intentos de independencia en el Plata (three chapters).

Volume II. contains fourteen chapters as follows:

Órgano y fórmula jurídica de la revolución.

Congreso general del 22 de mayo.

La revolución.

La revolución sin sangre.

La audiencia contra la junta.

Los gobernadores intendentes contra la junta. Posición de los cabildos y los pueblos.

El castigo ejemplar.

El "plan" atribuido a Moreno.

Comienzo de obra orgánica de la revolución.

Diplomacia inicial de la junta gubernativa.

El congreso general de las provincias.

Poderes de los diputados.

Ideas constitucionales de Moreno.

Conferencia del 18 de diciembre. Renuncia de Moreno.

The first volume contains an appendix of nineteen documents and the second of fifteen, which are published for the first time.

The volumes are well written and according to the canons of history, and are important for the history of Argentina, throwing considerable light on the revolutionary epoch. Dr. Levene is one of the better known of the younger men who are working in this field, by reason of his volumes of an institutional character. He is a member of that brilliant set of Argentinian scholars who are so signally making Argentina's history known beyond the confines of the state.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Urquiza: El Juicio de la Posteridad.* Compiled by MARTINIANO LEGUIZAMÓN. 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Casa Editora "Coni", 1921. Pp. xxxii, 721; and xv, 723-1352. Illustrations. Paper.)

The prime reason for these volumes was the monument that was unveiled to Urquiza at Paraná, November 11, 1920. Sr. Leguizamón was charged with the task of compiling everything pertaining to that occasion, and he has well acquitted himself of that task. In the two volumes the heterogeneous materials compiled are as follows: Prólogo by the compiler; Adhesiones de los gobiernos nacional Paraguayo, Brasileño, Uruguayo y Provinciales, Municipalidades y centros cultu-



rales de la República, pp. 9-134; Adhesiones y manifestaciones particulares, pp. 135-144; Juicios y homenajes de la prensa, pp. 145-566; Homenaje de la Lira, pp. 567-603; Homenaje nacional a Urquiza en la ciudad de Paraná, pp. 605-721; El Homenaje de la capital federal, pp. 723-828; Homenaje de la provincia de Buenos Aires, pp. 829-885; then follow various sections for the provinces of Entre Ríos, Santa Fe, Córdoba, San Luis, Mendoza, La Rioja, San Juan, Tucumán, Catamarca, Santiago del Estero, Salta, Jujuy, and Los Territorios Nacionales; and an appendix consisting of a statement of the treasury of the Comisión nacional.

The president of the Comisión was the well-known Ernesto Quesada and those taking part in the functions included many of the most prominent men of Argentina. Many of the newspaper comments are interesting and contain historical notes of value. The compiler has at times taken the pains to correct statements which he considers inaccurate. Urquiza is described by one writer as "Libertador de la tiranía, organizador de nuestra república federativa, fautor de la unión argentina, y propulsor de la instrucción pública federal del país". He is called the "Washington of the south", and it is recorded that he was praised by President Buchanan, while his assassination in 1870 is likened to that of Lincoln.

It is very fitting that a monument should have been erected to General and President Urquiza, who will always be remembered as the overthrower of the tyrant Rosas, and the proponent of Argentinian political solidarity. It is also fitting that this record should have been compiled in honor of that occasion. The numerous illustrations enhance the value of the work.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*La Literatura Gauchesca en el Uruguay.* By DOMINGO A. CAILLAVA. (Montevideo: 1921. Pp. 71.)

This is a valuable contribution to the literature and bibliography of that distinctive and interesting product of Argentina and Uruguay, the gaucho literature. The gaucho, like the vaquero of the western cattle ranges is a vanishing product, but he represented a very distinct phase of political and economic development; and the representation in poetry, prose, and especially the drama of his character and habit has produced this literature of great originality, the effects of which are still potent. Señor Caillava's object has not been to produce a critical work, but rather a catalogue of the publications of gaucho

character published in Montevideo. In this the author has succeeded admirably, but it is to be regretted that he did not prepare an index of authors, titles, etc., that would greatly facilitate the use of this work as a bibliographical source.

C. K. JONES.

*Mexico in Revolution.* By VICENTE BLASCO IBÁÑEZ. Translated by Arthur Livingston and José Padin. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920. Pp. vii, 245. \$2.00.)

As explained by a slip pasted on the title page, "the articles in this volume were written originally at the request of and for 'The Chicago Tribune'". In his preface, the author states that his book consists of "simple impressions, hastily and incompletely jotted down as circumstances warranted or required. I regard them as first shots on the skirmish line, before my real battle, with all my heavy guns in action, begins." We are promised the final results of his observation and study on contemporary Mexico in his novel *The Eagle and the Snake*, but vague rumors, for which I can not vouch, have been heard to the effect that the novel will never appear because it was bought up by the Mexican government.

In his ten chapters, the author discusses in his racy, vigorous manner, the following matters: The cause of the revolution; The sad story of Flor de Te; "Citizen Obregón; The real author of Carranza's downfall; Carranza's official family; Condition of the country; The generals; The Mexican army; Mexico's ominous silence; and Mexico and the United States.

The volume is in many respects a satire on Mexico, rather than a sober portrayal of fact. It is not written from a sympathetic standpoint, and often, indeed, appears a burlesque. To this, the author might answer that that is the way Mexico impressed him, and of course, no rejoinder could be made to his reply. Let one not suppose that the book, notwithstanding its newspaper style, can be dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders. Blasco Ibáñez is too entertaining and too good a writer for that. He has instinctively picked out various features of Mexico of today and played upon them, not giving the whole truth, perhaps, nor yet missing the whole truth, but sometimes, especially to those who may know but little of Mexico, giving impressions that are far from the truth. His burlesque on the "General" business, is, as a friend of the reviewer has aptly said, refreshing, and he has here touched upon a real evil in Mexico. The last chapter on Mexico and the United States is not without interest to people in this country.

However, it is not books like this that are most needed about Mexico. We need books, and many of them, written in a calm, sympathetic spirit, that state both the evil and the good impartially. I can see how Blasco Ibáñez's book, with all its pleasantries, might even be a dangerous book unless it be offset by other works. Mexico needs not our laughter at this time, but our serious, and withal, honest, consideration. As a matter of fact, we of the United States have done very little toward helping Mexico to solve its latter-day problems; and we may not be assured in our self complacency that the dictates of history will not be against us in this regard.

How much the character of the book may have been changed in assuming an English dress, the present reviewer does not know.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Intimate Pages of Mexican History.* By EDITH O'SHAUGHNESSY. (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1920. Pp. xii, 351.)

Like Mrs. O'Shaughnessy's other books, this is cleverly written and readable. Throughout, she has written in a spirit of the utmost sympathy with Mexico, and she has dared to question and even to condemn the policy of the United States with respect to that unfortunate country.

The volume deals mainly with the four presidents of Mexico whom the author has known, namely; Porfirio Díaz, the soldier and builder of modern Mexico prior to the late period of revolution; Francisco Leon de la Barra, the astute ad-interim president (el blanco presidente); Francisco I. Madero, the reckless and unstable idealist; and Victoriano Huerta, the Indian, sinning and sinned against, whose face was "dark, flat, cruel, crafty, strong, relentless, but possessed of a strong sense of humor". She has little sympathy for Madero, notwithstanding his evident honesty, but for the others, especially for Díaz, whom she admires, perhaps excessively and extravagantly, she has a ready and contagious friendliness, while Huerta gains new dignity. Of Carranza and the revolutionary leaders, Zapata, Pelaez, Villa, and others, little is said, and that, in general, not complimentary.

Her book is largely one of reminiscences and she relates in connection with the four presidents above named her own experiences, although she is tempted at times to enlarge her field with narrative gleaned from her reading or learning of history. As a volume of this type, it is well worth reading, but Mrs. O'Shaughnessy was too near many of the events she has described, was too intimately connected with them as an eyewitness, for her work to take first rank among books on Mexico.

She has tried to look beneath the surface for the true interpretation, but at times she loses her philosophic insight, which is replaced by feeling. She is not and can not be impartial.

A firm believer in autocratic government, as she frankly confesses, she has no understanding of one side of late Mexican history—the obscure groping after the democratic ideal. She has seen Mexico fall from the well governed country of Díaz to a country wherein continual strife reigns or threatens, and she sees more promise in “the man on horseback” than in revolutionary leaders. However Díaz sat astride of a volcano and men of his type are rare and rarely follow one another.

We can only hope that the democratic ideal will in time work itself out.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*The Spanish Royal Tapestries.* By ALBERT F. CALVERT. (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1921. Pp. xxiii, 67, and 277 full-page plates.)

This volume belongs to the well-known Spanish Series of art books edited by Mr. Calvert. He himself says of it: “In point of size, scope and general interest, this little book is perhaps the least considerable of the score of volumes comprised in The Spanish Series, but the collection would have lacked something of the completeness which I have endeavored to secure for it, if the subject of which it treats had not been included.” In his short text, the author discusses History of the art of tapestry weaving; The foundation of the Spanish royal collection; The Gothic tapestries—sacred pieces; Tapestries of the Gothic-Renaissance transition, and Renaissance tapestries.

Most interesting from a historical viewpoint is the section of the text (pp. 32–47) which deals with the expedition of Emperor Charles V. to Tunis in 1535. The twelve tapestries of this group are explained and the long Spanish and Latin inscriptions that appear on each piece are translated into English. The tapestries themselves (plates 32–43) were executed by Wilhelm Pannemaker from designs by Jan Vermay or Vermeyen, who accompanied the emperor on the expedition, by express command, in order to portray faithfully the events enacted therein. The series was finally declared complete on April 21, 1554.

The other tapestries represent classical mythology, ancient history, religious episodes or conceptions, and some few miscellaneous subjects (*e.g.* those from Goya and Teniers). The text is perhaps too short. The plates are well executed, and the tapestries are reproduced in greater number and variety than has hitherto been attempted.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

### AN AMERICAN SHIP-BUILDER FOR SPANISH CALIFORNIA

Professor Chapman, in his chapter on the difficulties experienced by the viceroy of New Spain in maintaining the Department of San Blas (a department which might better have been called the Department of the Californias), refers briefly to a ship-builder named Francisco Seguroola who was sent from Spain to this station in 1777. The present writer, in his investigations in the Archivo General de Indias, has discovered certain documents which give the interesting sequel of this matter. These documents are contained in an *expediente* dealing with Seguroola's attempt to secure a larger salary than that assigned to him by the viceroy, and to get the government to defray the expenses of his journey from Spain to San Blas. Seguroola's first representation on this subject was made within a few months of his arrival in Mexico, and the final decision—in his favor—was made by a royal order some eight years later, on February 18, 1787, seven months after Seguroola's death. The viceroy was directed to pay to the son of Seguroola the amount due the latter as a result of the decision in his case.

Seguroola being dead, it was necessary to provide another ship-builder to take his place. In the royal order referred to above it is said:

And in regard to the matter of a ship-builder for the Department of San Blas the king has resolved that you [the viceroy] shall ask Don Diego Gardoqui, our agent in the American colonies, to send one, taking care that he be a person of much ability and well instructed in his craft.

At the same time the minister of the Indies wrote to Gardoqui about the matter, directing him to send to Mexico such a person, in case he should be successful in finding one. Gardoqui attended to the business promptly, apparently having no particular difficulty in finding, among the sea-faring people of New England, a person suitably qualified to supply this particular need of New Spain. The man selected by him was Mr. John Ficus Morgan of Boston, among whose recommendations was a certificate signed at Boston, January 16, 1788, by John Hancock, James Bowdoin, and others, stating that Morgan was a master ship-builder of that city.

In due time Morgan arrived at Havana, from which point the governor wrote to the viceroy informing him of the coming of the American. Viceroy Florez, who had come into office after the instructions given to Gardoqui, did not like this arrangement and immediately so told the home government. In a letter to Valdes, the minister of the Indies, dated April 26, 1788, he says:

I was ignorant of this provision until the receipt of a letter from the governor of Havana, dated the thirteenth of last March, in which he advised me of the arrival at that port and the proximate arrival at Veracruz in the frigate *Biviana* of the ship-builder referred to, Mr. John Ficus Morgan. I take it as a matter of course that this foreigner is very good, and well qualified; but it does not seem to me convenient to employ him in these dominions, and much less in the construction of ships for a port like that of San Blas, which sustains our recent establishments in California, which facilitates the explorations to the north of that coast, which provides the means of impeding the intentions of Russia, and which, finally, serves as a port for the ships of Callao de Lima and the Philippines. All of these reasons compel me to suspend the carrying out of the royal order [referred to]. My purpose is to detain Morgan here, providing him at the expense of Real Hacienda whatever may be necessary for his decent and comfortable subsistence until the king authorizes me to send this foreigner back to his own country. This seems to me best, and that there shall come from Spain a good ship-builder with the requisite qualifications, since none is to be had in Havana.

A few days later the viceroy wrote again, saying that he had just received a letter from Gardoqui giving the terms of the contract made with Morgan, and that he had written a letter of thanks to the former. He then goes on:

Far from having reasons for changing the views, which I explained to you in my recent letter, about the inconvenience of assigning to this kingdom the colonist Morgan, I adhere to them fully, and I am sending this letter . . . asking you to please inform me of the sovereign resolution of the king, since in the meantime I will carry out the contract which Don Diego Gardoqui made with this foreigner, detaining him in this capital, toward which he is en route with two young carpenters ("*dos muchachos carpinteros*") of the same nation, as the governor of Veracruz has just advised me.

This was on May 7, 1788. The reply to these letters was written at San Ildefonso on September 17, the viceroy being informed that the king has seen fit to approve what he has done in the matter and has directed that Morgan be sent back to his own country, his salary and expenses being so adjusted as to leave him satisfied and contented. The final document in the case of Morgan is the viceroy's letter of February 26, 1789, in which he states that as a result of the royal

order of September 17 he has arranged for the return to New York of the American ship-builder, appending to the letter a statement showing the amounts paid to Morgan, the total, for salary and expenses of transportation, being 2,310 pesos, 2 tombines, and 8 granos. This sum may therefore be taken as the cost of the year's vacation enjoyed by Mr. John Ficus Morgan, ship-builder of Boston, at the expense of the king of Spain.

At the same time that the king made the decision announced in the letter of September 17, he also ordered that the chief engineer of the navy should nominate a ship-builder to be sent to San Blas. By a curious coincidence that slow-moving functionary made his nomination just one day before the viceroy wrote his final letter in regard to Morgan. The person nominated was Manuel Bastarrachea of Ferrol, who after his arrival at San Blas had much the same difficulty in regard to his salary and expenses as that experienced by Segurola.<sup>1</sup>

RALPH S. KUYKENDALL,  
Native Sons Fellow in Pacific  
Coast History, 1921-1922.

Seville, Spain,  
February 20, 1922.

#### A NEW FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The following circular has just come into our hands, and it is of so interesting a nature that it is reproduced in full:

The Florida State Historical Society was founded December 1, 1921, by some citizens of the State of Florida and northerners who were interested in the history of the State. To these individuals it seemed desirable to form a society of a different character from that of any already existing in the State, having for its object study and research in history that has a direct bearing on Florida. There being in existence a great mass of original manuscript material relating to Florida, one of the Society's first duties will be to make some of those documents accessible.

It is the opinion of the founders that the close association with an institution of learning will assist materially in accomplishing the purposes of the Society, and therefore it has been organized to work in close harmony with, although independent of, so far as its own organization is concerned, the John B. Stetson University.

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<sup>1</sup> In regard to this interesting incident, Mr. Kuykendall says: "It seemed to me that this little incident is another confirmation of what has been remarked in other connections, that the fear of the new American republic was rather keener in New Spain than in Old Spain, and also that the officials in Mexico were more vigilant in guarding the interests of Spain in American than those in Spain were in foreseeing some possible contingencies."

Eventually, the Society is expected to perform all of the functions stated in its charter, but it will for the present confine itself to the publication of new material or the reprinting of rare material pertaining to Florida history. To accomplish this, a full enrollment of two hundred and fifty sustaining members is required. The obligation assumed by those who become sustaining members is to subscribe for the publications of the Society as they are issued, at approximately the cost of production. Preliminary plans call for from two to four volumes a year. At present the Society has no salaried employees. Its publications will be limited to three hundred copies each, of which two hundred and fifty will be sold to the sustaining members, the other fifty being retained for future use, such as sale to institutions which may require the full sets. The volumes will be printed on fine paper, and many will contain illustrations.

The Society will start its publications with some very important new works on Florida history. Among them is a biography and bibliography of Bernard Romans, with a reproduction of his map of Florida, prepared by Mr. Philip Lee Phillips of the Library of Congress; a Treatise on the Aborigines of Florida by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička of the Smithsonian Institution; and a Treatise on the Loyalists of Florida, prepared by Dr. Wilbur H. Siebert, head of the Department of History of Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Mrs. Washington E. Connor, of New York City, who has for some years been receiving transcripts of documents in the archives of Seville which pertain to Florida history, will edit and translate several volumes containing these documents, never before published. The volumes will be among the most important recent contributions to State histories and will furnish the proper fundamental data for the writing of a history of Florida in the future. The first two volumes will contain some of the official reports and letters written by Governors Pedro Menéndez Marqués and Gonzalo Méndez de Canço to the King of Spain, Philip II, and many documents relating to the Franciscan Fathers, including a collection of letters of Father Francisco Pareja. Mrs. Connor has now in hand a sufficient number of unpublished documents concerning the seventeenth century in Florida to fill about ten volumes. These will be prepared for publication as soon as possible.

In the not distant future facsimile editions of such works as Ribaut's Account of Florida will be made, and also of the Account of the Gentleman of Elvas. Of the former but one copy is known to exist, and of the latter but two. There are in all a dozen exceedingly rare printed accounts of Florida of about this period, which will, sooner or later, be reproduced in facsimile.

At some time in the future reprints will be made of the rare documents relating to Oglethorpe's expedition against St. Augustine, of which so few copies are known that only the larger libraries in the United States have them.

It is the hope of the Society that in a few years its publications will supply a faithful and exact historical account of the State, to which all who are interested in Florida history may refer. Heretofore the State history has been almost inaccessible, either because of the scarcity of the printed books or because of the fact that the records were buried in foreign archives.

The receipt of this prospectus is an invitation to become a sustaining member of the Society. Those who are interested in doing so will kindly sign the enclosed pledge and return it to the secretary, Mr. C. B. Rosa, DeLand, Florida. Additional information will be gladly furnished in correspondence with the said secretary.



The *South Florida Developer*, which is published at Deland, Florida, in its issue of February 19, 1922, reports that the first meeting of the Florida State Historical Society was held at the Hotel College Arms. At that time officers of the society were confirmed, namely, Dean C. P. Carson, professor of history at Stetson University, president; Mrs. Washington E. Connor, of New Smyrna and New York, vice president; C. B. Rosa, bursar of Stetson University, secretary; S. A. Wood, president of the Volusia County Bank and Trust Company, treasurer. Councillors were also confirmed as follows: Governor Cary A. Hardee, Senator Duncan H. Fletcher, John B. Stetson, Jr., of Philadelphia and Deland, W. A. MacWilliams, of St. Augustine, Peter C. Knight, of Tampa, Kirke Munroe, of Cocoanut Grove, President A. A. Murphree, of the University of Florida, John J. Paul, of Watertown, Dr. Lincoln Hulley, president of Stetson University, DeLand, J. Franklin Jameson, of Carnegie Institution of Washington, George Parker Winship, of Harvard University, Mrs. W. S. Jennings, of Jacksonville, and C. B. Reynolds, of St. Augustine.

A committee to pass on all publications to be issued by the society is to consist of Mrs. Connor and Messrs. Winship, Jameson, and Stetson. By a resolution taken at this meeting, every assistance was offered to the Historical Pageant Association. Among the immediate plans of the society is the obtaining of a quarter thousand of sustaining members who will agree to take at cost each of the publications issued by the society. The desirability of having a full set of publications placed in each county seat in the state for the information of all citizens was discussed at some length.

The new society will begin publishing almost immediately. Dr. Hrdlicka's *The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Florida* is in press, as is also Mr. Phillip's Map of Bernard Romans, which is accompanied by a biography and bibliography. Both volumes are expected to appear before the end of the present year. Professor Siebert has already done considerable work on his *Loyalists of Florida*. Dr. Winship is now obtaining photographs of the De Brahm Papers in London in order that they may be compared with the Harvard documents, so that a correct text may be obtained. Mrs. Connor expects to have two volumes of her documents on Florida ready for publication by Christmas of this year.

On request, Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., commented on the work of the society as follows: "Steps have been taken to obtain information relative to original Florida material with a view toward publishing

anything important that can be found. Florida is about the last state in the union to undertake such a work. The field for work is enormous. There is less accessible material for Florida than for any other state in the union. In printed works dealing with Florida, there is practically nothing to be found relating to the period 1600-1763, except Barcia's *Ensaio Cronológico* and a few of the Montiano Letters dealing with the invasion of Florida by Governor More, also the four pamphlets on Oglethorpe's invasion of Florida. There is a tremendous mass of material in the Library of Congress dealing with the second Spanish occupation, but so far I am not acquainted with any published works other than a few passing references of travelers.

"The councillors of the society believe that it is advisable to have a few publications before they try to obtain a wide membership in the state. Although no drive for membership is being made at the present time it is the desire of the board of councillors to enlist the active cooperation and assistance of the students in history in the United States whose particular field is Spain in America. Under proper conditions, the society would offer an opportunity for the publication of monographs upon Florida history."

The HISPANIC AMERICAN REVIEW wishes the new society a long and successful life. It ventures to hope that the obscure pages of Florida's history will be illumined by the publication of new evidence from the old originals. The society has set itself an ambitious task, but there seems to have been careful planning unaccompanied by useless rushing ahead blindly. This ought to give results which will be welcomed by scholars and all interested in the history of Florida. There should be many discoveries of historical nuggets.

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At the 36th annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at St. Louis, December 27-30, 1921, one conference was devoted to Hispanic American history. Those appearing on the program were Charles W. Hackett, "Materials for Spanish history in the Genaro García Library"; Arthur S. Aiton, "The establishment of the viceroyalty in the new world—a projection of Spanish institutions"; William Spence Robertson, "The policy of Spain toward her revolted colonies in 1823-1824"; and William W. Pierson, Jr., "Some reflections on the Cabildo". Professor Herbert I. Priestley was chairman of the conference.

At the 38th meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, which was held at Baltimore, on December 28-30, 1921, a session, of which Professor E. C. Hills was chairman, was devoted to Spanish-American and Brazilian literatures. The session was an informal discussion of these literatures, with special emphasis on their place in the curricula of our schools and colleges. There was a good attendance, and considerable discussion. A communication was read from Dr. Carlos Castro Ruiz, of Chile, consul-general for Chile in Washington, D. C. Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima had expected to be present, but was unavoidably detained in Washington. No definitive recommendations were made, and the session was simply adjourned.

At the forthcoming meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association to be held at Iowa City, Iowa, one session will be devoted to "United States-Mexican Relations since 1848". The tentative program includes a paper by Mr. Will Buckley, of Austin and New York, and president of the American Association of Mexico. The title of this paper will be "Woodrow Wilson's Mexican Policy". Mr. Buckley has lived a number of years in Mexico and was interpreter and secretary for the Mexican delegation at the Ontario Falls International Conference in 1914. Other papers include one by Dr. J. Fred Rippy, of the University of Chicago, on some phases of United States-Mexican relations since 1848, and one by Dr. Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas on "The recognition of the governments of Juarez, Diaz, and Madero by that of the United States".—CHARLES W. HACKETT.

The Pan-American Student League is promoting a "Festa do Idioma" in honor of the Portuguese language and the literatures of Brazil and Portugal. The "Festa" will be held on March 18, in Earl Hall, Columbia University. The speakers for the evening will be Professor Gerig, of Columbia University, Dr. Helio Lobo, Brazilian consul-general at New York, Dr. Euclides da Costa, Portuguese vice-consul, and others. Mr. Alfredo Oswald, a Brazilian pianist of note, will play Brazilian music. Patrons for the "Festa" are the Brazilian ambassador in Washington, Dr. Alencar; the Portuguese minister, Viscount d'Alte; Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, diplomat, historian, and scholar; Professor Maro Jones, Dr. Isaac Goldberg, Dr. James A. Robertson, Professor Coutinho, and other prominent scholars and friends of the Portuguese language.—GILBERTO FREYRE.

Under the auspices of the Public Lectures Committee of the University of Texas, Dr. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California will deliver two lectures at the University of Texas in May of this year. The first of these will be "Spain's Imprint upon the Western Hemisphere." The second will be "The Development of Scholarship in Spanish American and Southwestern History during the last twenty-five years".—CHARLES W. HACKETT.

The work of cataloguing the Geñaro García Library of Mexicana at the University of Texas has been begun and will be pushed to completion as rapidly as possible. This library contains 11,000 bound volumes; 16,000 pamphlets; numerous complete or practically complete files of Mexican and Spanish newspapers and magazines; and 400,000 pages of unpublished manuscript materials. In the latter are included the private archives of ten of Mexico's leading statesmen of the nineteenth century. This library was acquired by the University of Texas last year at a cost of \$110,000.—CHARLES W. HACKETT.

Dr. Víctor A. Belaúnde, professor of the University of Lima, in Peru, official lecturer of the Instituto de las Españas, and owner of *Mercurio Peruano*, is offering a course in Hispanic American literature at the spring session of Columbia University.—C. K. JONES.

Dr. John Caspar Branner, president emeritus of Stanford University, has recently died at his home near Palo Alto. Dr. Branner was a geologist of note, and the greatest American authority on earthquakes and on Brazilian geology. He was, besides, an eminent scholar, knowing well a number of languages and intimately the Portuguese language. He is the author of a Portuguese grammar, and shortly before his death had finished a translation of Herculano's *Origem da Inquisição em Portugal*. Dr. Branner will also be remembered for the excellent Brazilian collection, now in Stanford University, which numbers about 10,000 volumes.—GILBERTO FREYRE.

Dr. Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California, leaves for a short trip to Central America on April 12, for the purpose of investigating the Central American attitude toward Central American union, as well as the attitude of Central Americans with respect to the position of the United States in Nicaragua and relations with the United States in general. His visit will be confined chiefly to Nica-



ragua and Costa Rica, and his investigations must necessarily be brief, as he is to teach in Columbia University during the summer session.

Dr. Isaac J. Cox and Dr. William H. Haas, of Northwestern University, will visit South America this year, leaving for New Orleans about May 1, and thence going first to Peru via Panama. They will visit also, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. In the last named country, Dr. Cox will act as delegate from the United States to the historical congress to be held in September. It is hoped that other scholars will also attend that congress.

James A. Robertson has been appointed secretary of the Committee on the Historical Congress at Rio de Janeiro for the year 1922, to take the place of Dr. Julius Klein, who was forced to resign because of the press of other duties. Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., is chairman of the committee, and Professor Percy A. Martin, vice-chairman. Other members of the committee are Messrs. Charles Lyon Chandler, Isaac J. Cox, Charles H. Cunningham, Manoel de Oliveira Lima, Edwin V. Morgan, Constantine E. McGuire, and William Lytle Schurz.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### ESTUDIO DE LA BIBLIOGRAFÍA CUBANA SOBRE LA DOCTRINA DE MONROE

#### INTRODUCCIÓN

Esta bibliografía se compone de mil títulos de libros, folletos y artículos y algunos de documentos oficiales. Me pareció que no debía concretarla exclusivamente a la Doctrina de Monroe, sino darle cierta amplitud, de modo que pudieran caber en ella asuntos que están unos, intimamente relacionados con la famosa Doctrina, y otros, que vienen a ser como una derivación de la misma.

Por eso he incluido todo cuanto tenga que ver con las relaciones políticas entre los Estados Unidos y Cuba especialmente, y después con las demás Repúblicas Hispano-Americanas. La porción dedicada a nuestro país, abarca, naturalmente, la mayor parte de éste estudio.

He aquí, en síntesis, las diversas secciones en que he dividido la presente monografía:

Doctrina de Monroe.

Anexión y Compra de Cuba.

Beligerancia y Neutralidad.

La Reconcentración y motivos humanitarios que produjeron la Guerra Hispano-Americana.

Discursos sobre Cuba.

La Joint Resolution.

La Intervención.

Guerra Hispano-Americana y el Derecho de gentes.

El Tratado de París.

Diplomacia Cubana.

La Independencia de Cuba.

La Enmienda Platt e Isla de Pinos.

Status de Cuba.

Historia de las relaciones diplomáticas de los Estados Unidos con España y Cuba.

El Panamericanismo, la Expansión y el Imperialismo Norte-Americano.

Los capítulos más nutridos son los siguientes:

	<i>Títulos</i>
Doctrina de Monroe.....	120
Anexión.....	160
Compra de Cuba.....	40
Intervención.....	90
Independencia.....	110
Relaciones diplomáticas y políticas de los Estados Unidos con España y Cuba.....	270
Enmienda Platt e Isla de Pinos.....	100
Panamericanismo e Imperialismo.....	100

Cuando comencé éste trabajo bibliográfico tenía el propósito de limitarlo exclusivamente a lo publicado en Cuba, por cubanos o extranjeros; pero observé después que con ese plan quedarían descartados estudios y documentos importantísimos escritos en otros países sobre dichas materias. Por eso, a riesgo de extralimitarme en el tema, decidí incluir dichas publicaciones (unas cuatrocientas) a fin de que ésta monografía resultase más completa y fuera más útil a todo aquel que quisiese estudiar a fondo la cuestión cubana. Tuve también en cuenta que en Cuba se ha publicado muy poco sobre el presente tema y que más valdría de una vez dar a conocer el conjunto que una parte de lo impreso.

Antes de analizar concisamente las principales secciones de ésta bibliografía, me voy a permitir hacer una pequeña digresión relativa al célebre Presidente Monroe, a su Doctrina y a la influencia que tuvo en la suerte o el destino de Cuba.

El Presidente, que yo sepa, celebró conferencias con tres cubanos con los cuales trató de asuntos políticos concernientes a la Gran Antilla y a México. Fué el primero, el habanero D. José Alvarez de Toledo, Diputado a las Cortés de Cadíz por la Isla de Santo Domingo en 1810. En dichas Cortés habló con energía el 11 de Enero de 1811 y de allí se retiró desengañado de España en el mes de Abril, embarcándose para Filadelfia a donde llegó en Septiembre, publicando poco después el *Manifiesto o satisfacción pundonorosa a todos los buenos Españoles europeos y a todos los pueblos de la América* (Philadelphia, 1811. En 8°, 83 ps). En ese célebre folleto, (que tuve el honor de dar a conocer en el tomo primero de mi *Bibliografía Cubana del siglo XIX*) excitaba a las Américas a la independencia, y especialmente a Cuba, su patria.

Álvarez de Toledo, el primer separatista cubano, fué nombrado Agente revolucionario de Mexico, se puso en comunicación confidencial

con Monroe, que era entonces Secretario de Estado, y le presentó un plan para independizar a Cuba, Santo Domingo y Puerto Rico, formando una Confederación Antillana, plan que, con seguridad, no fué tomado en consideración. De éstas primeras tentativas en pro de la independencia de Cuba no han dicho una palabra ni el doctor Vidal Morales en sus *Iniciadores y Primeros Mártires de Independencia*, ni ninguno de los historiadores de la Perla de las Antillas. Tampoco conoció el doctor Vidal Morales a otro precursor separatista, el bayamés Joaquín Infante, autor del primer *Proyecto de Constitución republicana para Cuba*. (Caracas, 1811), que describo en mi Bibliografía.

En septiembre de 1822 otro cubano enviado secretamente desde la Habana a Washington conferenció con el Presidente Monroe, comunicándole que en Cuba se laboraba por la independencia, con la idea de pedir después que se le permitiese ingresar en la Unión como uno de los Estados. El Presidente aconsejó a los cubanos que se estuviesen quietos bajo el dominio español, porque su Nación estaba entonces en relaciones amigables con España. Ha quedado en el misterio el nombre del compatriota que celebró esta conferencia, aunque me inclino a pensar que fuera el inolvidable Gaspar Betancourt y Cisneros (*el Lugareño*), o un argentino, decidido partidario de la independencia cubana, el ilustre literato José A. Miralla, que por entonces residió en la Habana, jugando un papel importante en los asuntos políticos de la época.

Otro hijo de Cuba, de apellido Morales, estuvo en Washington a principio de 1823 con objeto de sondear al Gobierno de la Unión Americana para saber qué actitud adoptaría en el caso de que Cuba declarase su independencia.

El proceder de Monroe hostil a éstos proyectos separatistas se explica porque él era partidario de la anexión de Cuba a los Estados Unidos, como lo demuestra la Nota dirigida por su Secretario de Estado John Quincy Adams, en abril 28 de 1823 (ocho meses antes de publicar su famosa Doctrina), en la que anunciaba franca y oficialmente la idea de la anexión de la mayor de las Antillas. En diciembre del citado año apareció la célebre Doctrina lo que constituyó en realidad un acto de increíble audacia diplomática si se tiene en cuenta que entonces los Estados Unidos con solo once millones de habitantes lanzaban un reto a la Europa que tenía doscientos millones.

Es indudable que la publicación de esa Doctrina ha tenido una influencia decisiva en el porvenir de la América, asegurando la independencia de los países que entonces la habían conquistado, pero fué



de efectos contraproducentes para Cuba que estaba todavía sujeta al coloniaje; pues sirvió, por la manera de aplicarla, para remachar sus cadenas políticas por tres cuartos de siglo más.

No obstante no deberle Cuba a Monroe ningún acto de generosidad, protección o simpatía, no por eso se puede dejar de reconocer que fué un gran americano, defensor como nadie hasta entonces de los derechos y personalidad de este Continente; y como ciudadano y Presidente hay que considerarlo como un modelo; pues no solo fué reelecto por los dos partidos (hecho rarísimo en la Historia), sino que descendió de la presidencia cargado de deudas cuando podía haber salido de ella convertido en multimillonario.

Concretándome ahora a la Doctrina de Monroe diré, que es un hecho sorprendente, pero real, que ninguno de los cubanos más eminentes de la época en que apareció, tales como D. Francisco Arango y Parreño, el Padre Varela, D. José de Luz y D. José Antonio Saco, hiciera alusión en sus escritos ni mencionase siquiera la tal Doctrina.

El Padre Varela sí manifestó en 1824 y 1826 que quería ver a Cuba tan aislada de los otros pueblos en lo político, como estaba por la Naturaleza. Y Saco en 1848 declaraba que su ideal era una *Cuba cubana y no anglo-sajona*. Esta, en realidad, era una Doctrina de Monroe, pero con aplicación exclusiva a Cuba: ésto es, *Cuba para los Cubanos*.

El primer hijo de esta Antilla que mencionó y estudió brevemente la Doctrina de Monroe fué, que yo sepa, el señor Porfirio Valiente, en el libro *Réformes dans les îles de Cuba et de Porto Rico* (Paris 1869), en el cual dedicó diez páginas a dar a conocer el origen y desarrollo de la mencionada Doctrina.

Los cubanos que más la han estudiado hasta ahora han sido los señores José M. Céspedes, Rafael M. de Labra, Rafael M. Merchan, Evelio Rodríguez Lendián, Raúl de Cárdenas y Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring.

El libro de Céspedes *La Doctrina de Monroe* (Habana, 1893), es el más extenso e importante que se ha publicado en nuestro país sobre esa materia. No fué escrito con la serenidad necesaria; y el apasionamiento muchas veces desvia al autor de la recta interpretación de los hechos. Nuestro compatriota el renombrado crítico Merchan hizo un análisis concienzudo de la obra y en él se señalan algunos de sus errores y deficiencias. De todos modos, el esfuerzo del doctor Céspedes es merecedor de caluroso elogio.

El elocuente orador Rafael M. de Labra consagró al famoso Presidente una biografía y, además, en muchas de sus obras hace repetidas y amplias referencias a la Doctrina de Monroe.

El Dr. Evelio Rodríguez Lendián, a quien se deben muy notables monografías históricas sobre la Independencia de Cuba, la Enmienda Platt, el Canal de Panamá, etc., la ha estudiado con originalidad y lucidez en su opúsculo *Los Estados Unidos, Cuba y el Canal de Panamá* (1909).

El joven Dr. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring ha consagrado y sigue consagrandole su atención a tan grave Doctrina. En su elogiadísimo folleto *La ocupación de la República Dominicana por los Estados Unidos y el derecho de las pequeñas nacionalidades* (1919), se detiene a analizar la Doctrina, análisis que amplía en su opúsculo *La Doctrina de Monroe y el Pacto de las Naciones* (1920). Además, éste autor está preparando en la actualidad y pronto lo dará a luz, un profundo y voluminoso Estudio sobre la susodicha Doctrina.

Por su parte el Dr. Raúl de Cárdenas diserta con la mayor amplitud sobre la mencionada Doctrina en sus artículos acerca de "La Política de los Estados Unidos en el Continente Americano" (1918), trabajo prolijo y de vastas proporciones, que creo no ha terminado aún, y en los cuales trata del origen de la Doctrina, de los casos en que se ha aplicado o invocado, considerándola después en sus diversos aspectos.

Refiriéndome ahora al capítulo dedicado a *la anexión* diré que los primeros títulos que en ella aparecen son de dos proyectos, los más antiguos que se han ideado para anexar a Cuba a los Estados Unidos, los cuales pasaron inadvertidos al Dr. José Ignacio Rodríguez en su obra *Estudio histórico sobre la anexión de Cuba*, y a los demás historiadores antillanos.

El primer proyecto consistió en la proposición que hizo Mr. Hamilton en mayo de 1739 al Rey del Inglaterra para apoderarse de Cuba con fuerzas levantadas en las colonias Americanas. A otro proyecto análogo alude el Senador Beveridge, en su discurso de 1906.

Y el segundo intento fué el envío de una Comisión Cubana en 1808, a Washington, a proponer la anexión, oferta que declinó el Presidente Jefferson.

En ésta sección se destaca gallardamente la genial figura de Don José Antonio Saco, el formidable enemigo de la anexión, que mantuvo durante cinco años (de 1848 a 1853) una ruidosa polémica, que es famosa en la historia de Cuba, habiendo discutido en ella con todos los partidarios de dicha solución. Esa memorable discusión y otros actos análogos han contribuido a que el nombre de Saco se pronuncie con amor y respeto por todos los cubanos. Con su perspicacia reconocida profetizó en su folleto *La situación política de Cuba y su remedio*

(1851), lo que le había de suceder a España medio siglo después; es decir, su derrota en Cuba, Puerto Rico y Filipinas, la destrucción de su escuadra y su expulsión total y definitiva de la América.

Saco hizo dos profecías más, que se han cumplido rigurosamente. En 1848, cuando afirmó "*que Cuba, su adorada Cuba sería Cuba algún día*", y en el folleto *La Cuestión de Cuba* cuando sostuvo que "O España concede a Cuba derechos políticos, o Cuba se pierde para España".

Otra profecía notable de esa época fué la del *Lugareño* (Gaspar Betancourt y Cisneros), cuando pronosticó en su folleto de 1849 "que el Gobierno y el Pueblo Americano eran el único escudo que la Providencia tenía reservado para salvar a Cuba".

Merecen mencionarse en éste capítulo el escrito de Piñeyro *Proyecto de anexión de Cuba durante la Presidencia de Buchanan*, la *Memoria de Ahumada*; la polémica entre Bellido de Luna y Trujillo; algunos capítulos de la obra de Vidal Morales *Iniciadores y Primeros Mártires de la Independencia*; los magníficos artículos de Manuel Sanguily sobre el General Narciso López, y su vibrante carta de 1907 escrita a F. M. Thompson, de Kansas; y además, el libro abiertamente anexionista, de José Ignacio Rodríguez, intitulado *Estudio histórico sobre el origen, desenvolvimiento y manifestaciones prácticas de la idea de la anexión de Cuba a los Estados Unidos*, cuya obra es de gran valor por el sinnúmero de antecedentes y datos que aporta sobre ésta materia.

En la parte dedicada a la "Compra de Cuba" incluyo las diez y siete proposiciones que se hicieron, sin resultado práctico, para comprar la isla y libertarla del yugo de España.

Tres títulos de discursos muy notables inserto en la sección consagrada a los motivos humanitarios que dieron lugar a la guerra entre la República Modelo y la Nación Española: los de los Senadores Proctor, Gallinger y Turpie, que influyeron decisivamente en el curso de los acontecimientos.

En el capítulo "La Intervención" se destaca el folleto del Dr. Juan Guiteras; los discursos de los Senadores y Representantes Turpie, Foraker, Morgan y Lodge; el "Exámen de la Cuestión Cubana" del Ministro Hannis Taylor; el estudio la "Intervención y el Reconocimiento de Independencia Cubana" del Profesor Hershey; el célebre *Informe* que dió el Senador Cushman Davis al Comité de Relaciones Extranjeras en 1898; la notable *Carta* del ilustre catedrático Dr. Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante, escrita en 1899; los artículos del Dr. Aramburo "La Intervención de Los Estados Unidos" y los libros de Valverde *La Intervención* (1902), de Alberto Robinson *Cuba y la Intervención*

(1905), de Figueras "La Intervención y su política" (1906) y del General Collazo *Cuba Intervenida* (1910).

En otra sección no menos importante, la *Independencia*, es justo y grato señalar entre otras, la proposición del Senador Cameron en favor de la independencia de Cuba, aprobada por el Senado de la Gran República en 1896; los discursos de los Senadores Cullom (1896), Turpie (1897 y 1898), Foraker (1898), Frye, Mason, Turner, Teller, Thurston y otros; así como los famosos *Informes* del Comité de Relaciones Exteriores, de diciembre de 1896 y de abril de 1898, redactado éste último por el Senador Cushman Davis, gran amigo de Cuba. El discurso del Dr. Rodríguez Lendián "La Independencia absoluta como el ideal cubano", que leyó ante el Gobernador americano General Brooke, tuvo gran resonancia en todo el país y figura con señalado honor entre los ya citados en ésta sección.

La célebre Enmienda Platt ha dado (y seguirá dando) origen a multitud de folletos y de polémicas. Mientras algunos cubanos la estiman salvadora, otros opinan que es la mayor desdicha que ha caído sobre Cuba. La han estudiado con detenimiento los señores Eliseo Giberga, Juan Gualberto Gómez, José Varela Zequeira, Rafael Martínez Ortíz, José de Armas y Cárdenas (que abogó francamente por el protectorado americano), Aurelio Hevía, Wifredo Fernández, José M. Cabarrocas, Evelio Rodríguez Lendián y el ilustre Presidente de la Sociedad Americana de Derecho Internacional, Dr. James Brown Scott. Y se han distinguido por la rudeza con que la han combatido los señores Julio César Gandarilla, Carlos Pereyra, Ramón Zaydín y otros.

Un libro de positivo valor histórico se ha publicado recientemente, la *Memoria del Senado de Cuba*, de 1918, en la cual se dan a conocer multitud de documentos relativos al origen y aceptación de la Enmienda Platt, y además las sesiones secretas que celebró la Convención Constituyente con motivo de la discusión de ese Apéndice de la Constitución Cubana.

En el extenso capítulo "Historia de las relaciones diplomáticas de la Unión Americana con España y Cuba", se destaca la conferencia del Dr. Enrique J. Varona "La política cubana de los Estados Unidos". Es natural que en ésta sección se encuentren numerosos, muy notables y completos estudios, publicados principalmente en la Gran República, y a los que tenemos que acudir de precisión para darnos exacta cuenta de nuestras relaciones políticas con la qué, al paso que vamos y si no nos enmendamos a tiempo, tendremos que llamar por desgracia muy pronto, nuestra segunda Metrópoli. Enumeraré a la ligera, por no



haber lugar para mas, los autores de esas importantes obras, publicadas en su mayor parte en los últimos veinte y cinco años, a saber: Wharton, Snow, Moore, Latané, Woolsey, Hart, Callahan, Foster, Flack, Chadwick y Benton, así como las célebres *Cartas sobre Cuba* escritas en el primer cuarto y a mediados del pasado siglo por los famosos estadistas Alejandro y Eduardo Everett.

Entre los documentos oficiales figuran en primer término los mensajes de los Presidentes Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Grant, Cleveland, McKinley, y Roosevelt, y además, el *Libro Rojo* español de 1898.

Se encuentran también en ésta sección algunas importantes obras españolas, francesas e italianas, relativas a la Guerra Hispano-Americana, así como la *Historia de la Diplomacia Americana* del argentino señor Martín García Merou.

En el último capítulo, dedicado al *Panamericanismo e Imperialismo Norte Americano*, sobresalen los estudios generales escritos por Eliseo Giberga, Francisco Carrera Jústiz, y Jacinto López; y los muy notables de Tulio M. Cestero, Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring y Max Henríquez Ureña, consagrados a nuestra hermana la heroica República de Santo Domingo.

Los problemas del Congreso de Panamá de 1826 y del Canal recién construido en ese país han sido objeto de valiosos escritos, salidos de la plumas de los señores F. Carrera Jústiz, J. Y. Rodríguez, A. S. Bustamante, Vidal Morales, E. Rodríguez Lendián y Jacinto López.

El primer cubano que fijó su atención en la expansión y futura grandeza de los Estados Unidos y el peligro que envolvía para nosotros, fué el renombrado economista Francisco Arango y Parreño, quien en una "Representación de la ciudad de la Habana a las Cortés", en 1811, ya predecía que "en el Setentrion se veia crecer a un coloso que amenazaba tragarse si nolo América entera, al menos la parte del Norte".

El "Imperialismo Norte Americano" ha sido objeto de meditada consideración por parte de dos cubanos: el Dr. Francisco Caraballo, autor de un libro que ha merecido calurosos elogios de autoridades competentes en la materia; y el Dr. Raúl de Cárdenas, que ha publicado un opúsculo de relevante mérito, muy razonado y nutrido de datos, intitulado: *Cuba no puede invocarse en testimonio del Imperialismo Norte Americano* (1917).

Diré, por último que el artículo del señor Sola "Cuba y Hawai" es digno de leerse y de tenerse en cuenta.

He llegado al fin de ésta extensa *Introducción*; y cumpléme advertir que hay otros muchos folletos y artículos acreedores a nuestro aplauso,

y que me he visto obligado a omitir so pena de hacer ésta disquisición interminable. En la Bibliografía misma que se dará a luz mas tarde se encontrará una relación detallada de todos los trabajos.

CARLOS M. TRELLES.

*Matanzas, Cuba.*

#### TRANSLATION

### STUDY OF CUBAN BIBLIOGRAPHY RELATIVE TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE

#### INTRODUCTION

This bibliography consists of a thousand titles of books, pamphlets, and articles, and some titles of official documents. I thought it best not to restrict it exclusively to the Monroe Doctrine, but to give it a certain broadness of scope, so that it might include those matters which are intimately related to the famous doctrine, and those which are, as it were, a derivative of that doctrine.

Hence, I have included everything connected with the political relations, between the United States and Cuba especially, and after that the other Hispanic American republics. The part devoted to our country [Cuba] naturally embraces the major part of this study.

Immediately following is a classification of the various sections into which the present monograph is divided:

The Monroe Doctrine.

Annexation and purchase of Cuba.

Belligerency and neutrality.

Reconstruction and humanitarian reasons producing the Spanish American war.

Addresses on Cuba.

The Joint Resolution.

The Intervention.

Spanish American war and the right of peoples.

The Treaty of Paris.

Cuban diplomacy.

The Independence of Cuba.

The Platt amendment and the Isle of Pines.

Status of Cuba.

History of the diplomatic relations of the United States with Spain and Cuba.

Pan Americanism, North American expansion and Imperialism.

The richest sections are the following:

	<i>Number of Titles</i>
Monroe Doctrine.....	120
Annexation.....	160
Purchase of Cuba.....	40
Intervention.....	90
Independence.....	110
Diplomatic and political relations of the United States with Spain and Cuba.....	270
Platt amendment and the Isle of Pines.....	100
Pan Americanism and Imperialism.....	100

When I began this bibliographical work, I considered limiting it exclusively to material published in Cuba by Cubans or foreigners. However, I discovered later that if this plan were followed, very important studies and documents written in foreign countries on the aforesaid matter would be left out. Therefore, at the risk of covering too wide a field in my subject, I resolved to include such publications (about four hundred) in order that this monograph might be more complete and more useful to whomever might desire to study the Cuban question exhaustively. I was also reminded that very little has been published in Cuba on the present subject and that it would be more useful to put out the whole rather than a part of what has been printed.

Before analysing briefly the main sections of this bibliography, I am going to take the liberty of digressing a bit on the famous President Monroe, on his doctrine, and on his influence on the lot or destiny of Cuba.

The president, according to my knowledge, held conferences with three Cubans, with whom he discussed political matters relative to the Greater Antilles and Mexico. The first was Don José Alvarez de Toledo, of Habana, deputy to the cortes of Cadíz, for the island of Santo Domingo in 1810. In that cortes, he spoke vigorously on January 11, 1811, and after that he left Spain undeceived, in the month of April, taking ship for Philadelphia, which he reached in September. Slightly later he published the *Manifiesto o satisfacción pundonorosa a todos los buenos Españoles europeos y a todos los pueblos de la América* (Philadelphia, 1811. 8°. Pp. 83). In that famous pamphlet, which I had the honor to bring to light in the first volume of my *Bibliografía Cubana del siglo XIX*, he roused the Americas to independence, and especially, Cuba, his fatherland.

Álvarez de Toledo, the first Cuban separatist, was appointed revolutionary agent of Mexico, entered into confidential communication with Monroe, then secretary of state, and presented to him a plan for mak-

ing Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico independent, by forming a confederation of the Antilles—a plan which, assuredly, was not taken into consideration. Of these first attempts for the independence of Cuba, not a word has been said, either by Dr. Vidal Morales, in his *Iniciadores y primeros mártires de independencia*, or any of the historians of the Pearl of the Antilles. Neither did Dr. Vidal Morales have any knowledge of another separatist precursor, namely, Joaquín Infante, of Bayamo, author of the first *Proyecto de constitución republicana para Cuba* (Caracas, (1811), which I describe in my *Bibliografía*.

In September, 1822, another secret Cuban envoy from Cuba to Washington, conferred with President Monroe, whom he told that they were working for independence in Cuba with the idea that a petition be made later that Cuba be permitted to enter the union as one of the states. The president advised the Cubans to remain quiet under Spanish rule, for his nation was then enjoying friendly relations with Spain. The name of our compatriot who held this interview has remained a mystery, but I am inclined to think that it was the illustrious Gaspar Betancourt y Cisneros a native of Cuba, or an Argentinian who was an out-and-out partisan of Cuban independence, the illustrious writer, José A. Miralla, who resided in Habana at that time, and played an important part in the political affairs of the period.

Another son of Cuba, by the name of Morales, went to Washington at the beginning of 1823, for the purpose of sounding the government of the American union with respect to what attitude it would adopt in the event Cuba should declare its independence.

The procedure of Monroe, hostile to these separatist projects, is explained, for he was favorable to the annexation of Cuba to the United States, as is shown by the Note of April 28, 1823 (eight months before the publication of his famous doctrine), directed by his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, in which he frankly and officially enunciated the idea of the annexation of the largest of the Antilles. In December of the above year, the celebrated doctrine appeared. It was, indeed, an act of incredible diplomatic boldness, if one remembers that at that time the United States with only eleven millions of people was hurling a challenge at Europe with its two hundreds of millions.

Beyond all doubt, the publication of that doctrine had a decisive influence on the future of America, for it assured independence to those countries which had then gained it; but it was of contrary effect for Cuba which was yet subject to colonization, for it served, by the manner in which it was applied, to rivet on Cuba's political chains for three-quarters of a century more.



Notwithstanding that Cuba owes nothing to Monroe for any act of generosity, protection, or sympathy, yet on that account one cannot fail to recognize that he was a great American, a defender as no one before him, of the rights and personality of this continent, and as citizen and president he must be considered a model. For, not only was he reelected by the two parties (a fact very rare in history), but he relinquished the presidency laden with debts, although he could have left it a multimillionaire.

Coming now directly to the Monroe Doctrine I shall say that it is a surprising fact, but true, that not a single one of the most eminent Cubans in the epoch in which it appeared—such as Don Francisco Arango y Parreño, Father Varela, Don José de Luz, and Don José Antonio Saco—ever alluded to or even mentioned that doctrine in their writings.

Father Varela, indeed, declared in 1824 and 1826 that he would like to see Cuba as isolated from other peoples with respect to political matters as it was by nature. In 1848, Saco declared that his ideal was a *Cuban Cuba* and not an *Anglo-Saxon Cuba*. This, in truth, was a Monroe Doctrine, but with sole application to Cuba: that is, *Cuba for the Cubans*.

The first son of this island of the Antilles who mentioned and made a brief study of the Monroe Doctrine was, according to my information, Señor Porfirio Valiente, in his book, *Réformes dans les Îles de Cuba et de Porto Rico* (Paris, 1869), in which he devoted ten pages to a study of the origin and development of the abovementioned doctrine.

The Cubans who have studied the doctrine most deeply so far have been Señores José M. Céspedes, Rafael M. de Labra, Rafael M. Merchan, Evilio Rodríguez Lendián, Raúl de Cárdenas, and Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring.

The book by Céspedes, *La Doctrina de Monroe* (Habana, 1893) is the most important and extensive work published in our country relative to this subject. It was not written with the calmness necessary, and his passion frequently caused the author to stray aside from the correct interpretation of the facts. Our compatriot, the renowned critic Merchan, made a conscientious analysis of the work in which he mentioned some of its errors and defects. In all directions, the efforts of Dr. Céspedes is worthy of warm praise.

The eloquent writer, Rafael M. de Labra, devoted a biography to the famous president, and further, made repeated and long references to the Monroe Doctrine in many of his works.

Sr. Evelio Rodríguez Lendián, to whom are due some very notable historical monographs on the independence of Cuba, the Platt amend-

ment, the Panama Canal, etc., has studied the doctrine with originality and clearness in his work *Los Estados Unidos, Cuba y el Canal de Panamá* (1909).

The youthful Dr. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring has given and continues to give his attention to this very serious doctrine. In his very praiseworthy pamphlet *La Ocupación de la República Dominicana por los Estados Unidos y el derecho de las pequeñas nacionalidades* (1919), he takes time to analyse the doctrine—an analysis which he amplifies in his work *La Doctrina de Monroe y el Pacto de las Naciones* (1920). Moreover, this author is now preparing and will soon publish a profound and voluminous study on the aforesaid doctrine.

On his part, Dr. Raúl de Cárdenas speaks at great length on the abovementioned doctrine in his article on "La Política de los Estados Unidos en el continente americano" (1918), a long work of huge proportions, which I believe is still unfinished, in which he discusses the origin of the doctrine, the cases in which it has been applied or invoked, considering it afterward in its various aspects.

Referring at this point to the section devoted to the annexation, I wish to state that the first titles appearing therein belong to two projects—the oldest ones put forth for the annexation of Cuba to the United States. These passed unnoticed by Dr. José Ignacio Rodríguez in his work *Estudio histórico sobre la anexión de Cuba*, as well as by other historians of the Antilles.

The first project consisted of the proposal made by Mr. Hamilton in May, 1739, to the king of England to take possession of Cuba with forces raised in the American colonies. Senator Beveridge refers to a similar project in his address of 1906.

The second attempt was the despatch of a Cuban commission in 1808 to Washington to propose annexation, an offer which was declined by President Jefferson.

In this section, the genial figure of Don José Antonio Saco, the formidable opponent of annexation, commands special attention. He, for five years (1848 to 1853) maintained a sounding controversy which is famous in the history of Cuba, during which period he argued the matter with all the partisans who favored this solution. That memorable discussion and other similar acts have contributed to make the name of Saco a name of love and respect to all Cubans. With his acknowledged clarity, he prophesied in his pamphlet *La situación política de Cuba y su remedio* (1851) what happened to Spain a half century later, namely, its defeat in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philip-

piners, the destruction of its fleet, and its complete and definitive expulsion from America.

Saco made two other prophecies which were strictly fulfilled—in 1848, when he asserted “*that Cuba, his adored Cuba, would be Cuba some day*”, and in his pamphlet, *La Cuestión de Cuba*, when he maintained that “either Spain will concede political rights to Cuba or Cuba will be lost to Spain”.

Another notable prophecy of that period was that of El Lugareño (Gaspar Betancourt y Cisneros) when he foretold in his pamphlet of 1849 “that the American government and people were the only shield which Providence had reserved to save Cuba”.

Mention is merited in this section of the book by Piñeyro, *Proyecto de anexión de Cuba durante la presidencia de Buchanan*; the *Memoria* by Ahumada; the controversy between Bellido de Luna y Trujillo; some chapters of the work by Vidal Morales, namely, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires de la independencia*; the magnificent articles by Manuel Sanguily on General Narciso López, and his resounding letter of 1907 written to Mr. F. Thompson, of Kansas; and further, the openly annexationist book of José Ignacio Rodríguez, intitled *Estudio histórico sobre el origen, desenvolvimiento y manifestaciones prácticas de la idea de la anexión de Cuba a los Estados Unidos*, a work of great value for the very many antecedents and data which he brings to this matter.

In the part devoted to the “Purchase of Cuba”, I include the seventeen proposals which were made without practical result for the purchase of the island and its liberation from the yoke of Spain.

I insert titles of three very notable addresses in the section devoted to the humanitarian motives which caused the war between the Model Republic and the Spanish Nation: namely, those of Senators Proctor, Gallinger, and Turpie, which had a decisive influence on the course of events.

In the section on “The Intervention”, stands out the pamphlet of Dr. Juan Guiteras; the addresses of the senators and representatives, Turpie, Foraker, Morgan, and Lodge; the “Examen de la cuestión cubana”, of Minister Hannis Taylor; the study entitled “Intervención y el reconocimiento de independencia cubana”, of Professor Hershey; the famous report by Senator Cushman Davis before the committee on foreign relations in 1898; the notable letter of the illustrious professor Dr. Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante, written in 1899; the articles of Dr. Aramburo, intitled “La Intervención de los Estados Unidos”; and the books of Valverde, *La intervención* (1902), of Albert Robinson,

*Cuba y la intervención* (1905), of Figueras, *La intervención y su política* (1906), and of General Collazo, *Cuba intervenida* (1910).

In another section, not less important, namely, "Independence", it is proper and gratifying to mention among other proposals, that of Senator Cameron, in favor of the independence of Cuba which was approved by the senate of the Great Republic, in 1896; the addresses of Senators Cullom (1896), Turpie (1897 and 1898), Foraker (1898), Frye, Mason, Turner, Teller, Thurston, and others; as well as the famous reports of the committee of foreign relations of December, 1896 and of April, 1898—the latter drawn up by Senatorushman Davis, a warm friend of Cuba. The address of Dr. Rodríguez Lendián, "La independencia absoluta como el ideal cubano", which was read before the American governor, General Brooke, resounded loudly throughout the country and figures with signal honor among those already cited in this section.

The famous Platt amendment has given and will continue to give origin to a multitude of pamphlets and controversies. While some Cubans consider it as a savior, others believe it the greatest misfortune that has ever come to Cuba. It has been studied in detail by Señores Eliseo Giberga, Juan Gualberto Gómez, José Varela Zequeira, Rafael Martínez Ortíz, José de Armas y Cárdenas (who frankly advocates American protection), Aurelio Hevía, Wifredo Fernández, José M. Cabarrocas, Evelio Rodríguez Lendián, and the illustrious president of the American Society of International Law, Dr. James Brown Scott. Señores Julio César Gandarilla, Carlos Pereyra, Ramón Zaydín, and others have been conspicuous because of the asperity with which they have fought this.

A book of positive historical value has recently been published, namely, *Memoria del senado de Cuba* of 1918, in which are presented a multitude of documents relative to the origin and acceptance of the Platt amendment, as well as the secret sessions celebrated by the constituent assembly by reason of the discussion of that appendix to the Cuban constitution.

In the extensive section "History of the diplomatic relations of the American Union with Spain and Cuba", stands out the address of Dr. Enrique J. Varona, namely, "La política cubana de los Estados Unidos". It is natural to find in this section many very notable and complete studies, published chiefly in the Great Republic, and to which we must have recourse in order to obtain an exact account of our political relations with that country which, to the pass to which we are come,



unless we reform in time, we shall very soon have the misfortune to call our second mother country. I shall enumerate lightly, as space forbids more, the authors of those important works published for the most part during the last twenty-five years, namely: Wharton, Snow, Moore, Latané, Woolsey, Hart, Callahan, Foster, Flack, Chadwick, and Benton as well as the famous *Cartas sobre Cuba*, written during the first quarter and in the middle of the last century by those famous statesmen, Alexander and Edward Everett.

Among official documents, there figure in the first place the messages of Presidents Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Grant, Cleveland, McKinley, and Roosevelt, together with the Spanish *Red Book* of 1898.

Some important Spanish, French, and Italian works relative to the Spanish American war, as well as the *Historia de la diplomacia americana* of the Argentinian, Señor Martín García Merou, are found also in this section.

In the last section devoted to "Pan Americanism and North American imperialism," the chief items are the general studies written by Eliseo Giberga, Francisco Carrera Justiz, and Jacinto López; and the very notable studies of Tulio M. Cestero, Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, and Max Henríquez Ureña, devoted to our sister, the heroic republic of Santo Domingo.

The problems of the congress of Panamá of 1826 and of the canal recently constructed in that country have been the subjects of powerful writings from the pens of Señores F. Carrera Jústiz, J. Y. Rodríguez A. S. Bustamante, Vidal Morales, E. Rodríguez Lendian, and Jacinto López.

The first Cuban to consider the expansion and future greatness of the United States and its danger to us, was the renowned economist, Francisco Arango y Parreño, who already predicted in 1811, in a "Representación de la ciudad de la Habana a las cortes", that in the north was to be seen the growth of a colossus which was threatening to swallow, if not the whole of America, at least the part of the north".

"North American imperialism" has been the subject of serious consideration on the part of two Cubans: namely, Dr. Francisco Caraballo, author of a book which has deserved warm praises from competent authorities of this subject; and Dr. Raúl de Cárdenas, who has published a work of eminent merit, very well put and filled with data, entitled *Cuba no puede invocarse en testimonio del imperialismo norte americano* (1917).

Lastly, I shall say that the article of Señor Sola, "Cuba y Hawai", is worth reading and keeping in mind.

I have reached the end of this extended introduction. It is to be noted that there are many other pamphlets and articles worthy of our applause, which I have been forced to omit under penalty of making this discussion interminable. In the Bibliography itself, which will be published later, there will be found a detailed list of all the works.

CARLOS M. TRELLES.

*Matanzas, Cuba.*

# CHILEAN LITERATURE: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERARY CRITICISM, BIOGRAPHY, AND LITERARY CONTROVERSY

## INTRODUCTION

The following bibliography is one of the results of a visit to South America in 1919-1920.<sup>1</sup> Granted leave of absence from the University of North Carolina in order to take advantage of a Sheldon Fellowship awarded by Harvard University, the author spent fifteen months in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay, engaged in researches of a bibliographical nature. Four months were passed in Chile; investigations being carried out principally in the Biblioteca Nacional, the library of the Instituto Pedagógico, and that of the Instituto Nacional.

Under the active leadership of José Toribio Medina, bibliographical science has made rapid strides in Chile, and ample testimony of this is afforded by Ramón A. Laval's *Bibliografía de bibliografías chilenas* with its three hundred and fifty-eight entries. Most ambitious is Emilio Vaïsse's *Bibliografía general de Chile*, a valuable piece of work that has been interrupted, it is to be hoped only temporarily, by lack of funds.

However, though this bibliography extends only through the two letters "A" and "B" its bio-bibliographical references widen its scope far beyond these letters. The student of Chilean literature will also be aided in his researches by a number of other bibliographical studies of a more restricted nature: such as, N. Anrique Reyes, *Ensayo de una bibliografía dramática chilena*; N. Anrique and L. I. Silva, *Ensayo de una bibliografía histórica i geográfica de Chile*; R. Briseño, *Estadística bibliográfica de la literatura chilena*; J. T. Medina, *Bibliografía de la imprenta en Santiago desde sus orígenes hasta febrero de 1817*; and L. I. Silva, *La novela en Chile*. The *Revista de Bibliografía Chilena y Extranjera* is invaluable for the study of contemporary Chilean literature.

Such a wealth of bibliography in what appeared to be veritably a land of bibliographers made it almost temerity to attempt another. Not all

<sup>1</sup> Other studies are: "A Bibliography of Peruvian Literature" (to appear in the *Romanic Review*); "A Bibliography of Bolivian Literature" (to appear in the *Romanic Review*); "Uruguayan Literature. A bibliography of literary criticism, biography and literary controversy" (in *Hispania*, March and May, 1922); "Argentine Literature" (in preparation).

the Chilean studies are accessible in the United States, however, and the student of Spanish American literature needs many guides to fields which lie all too far away. If he is fortunate enough to visit Chile it is likely that his time there will be limited and he will want every possible means of orientation to be able to make the most of his time. If unable to make so long a trip, he is even more in need of guidance, for books are difficult to purchase so far away and it is wise to be reasonably sure of their content before making any considerable outlay.

With the thought, therefore, of compiling a book of reference for students of Spanish American literature, the most valuable collection which could be made within the time at the author's disposal seemed to be a bibliography of literary criticism. This of course included histories of literature and very naturally extended to biography. Literary controversy was felt to be so closely connected with literary criticism that it too was included. Although it was not possible to make anything like an exhaustive list of newspaper articles, important though they are, contributions of Rómulo Mandiola, Pedro Nolasco Cruz, Ricardo Dávila Silva and Emilio Vaïsse were not omitted. In searching through the files of the newspaper *Los Tiempos* for articles by Rómulo Mandiola numerous others were brought to light and have received mention here. For newspaper articles of recent date the reader is referred to the above mentioned *Revista de Bibliografía Chilena*.

It was the original plan to exclude everything not written by and about Chileans, but this presented serious difficulties. Men like Mora, Bello, and Sarmiento so identified themselves with the development of Chilean thought that a bibliography which excluded them would surely be incomplete. And the names of Egafía, Gay, Minvielle, Vaïsse, and numerous others would be omitted if the line were drawn too closely. It was, therefore, decided to include not only the contributions of Chilean men of letters but those of other men who had lived in Chile long enough to maintain an intimate contact with the intellectual life of that country. It was also decided to include books and articles published in Chile if they concerned the national literature and were written in Spanish.<sup>2</sup>

This bibliography, then, is confined to books and magazine articles dealing with Chilean literary criticism, biography, and literary con-

<sup>2</sup> This excluded the valuable set of biographies published under the auspices of the Hispanic Society and edited by William Belmont Parker, *Chileans of Today*. This book appeared in Santiago, in 1920, and contains biographies of two hundred and seventy-six living men, among them many literary figures.



troversy. It should be mentioned here that these titles will prove to be of very considerable use to the student of history. Magazine articles of less than one page have usually been omitted as well as speeches unless the latter were known to contain definite biographical or critical data. With magazine articles, the title, volume, and page are given; and in the case of books, in addition to the usual bibliographical description, notes have been added to indicate the chapters which have a place in this study or the content of the book if this is not to be deduced from the title. When a book has not been actually examined by the compiler the title is followed by an indication in brackets of the source of information.<sup>3</sup> Little attempt has been made to give a critical evaluation of any book beyond what is implied by a summary or statement of its content.

The obligations incurred in the collection of this material are many. Señor Carlos Silva Cruz, Director of the Biblioteca Nacional; Señor Ricardo Dávila Silva, head of the bibliographical section; Señor Enrique Blanchard-Chessi, head of the Chilean section of the library; Señor Augustín Isidro Palma, librarian of the Instituto Pedagógico; and Señor L. I. Silva, librarian of the Instituto Nacional, with their assistants, lightened the compiler's task with their ever ready aid. To Señor Emilio Vaisse I am indebted for the extensive list of publications which appear under his name. The invaluable assistance and friendly encouragement of Señor Ramón A. Laval, Assistant Director of the Biblioteca Nacional, was a real inspiration; as has been the interest shown in this effort by Prof. J. D. M. Ford of Harvard University.

S. E. L.

#### LIST OF MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS EXAMINED

Magazines and newspapers examined and abbreviations therefor used in this bibliography are as follows:

- Anal. de la Univ.*—*Anales de la Universidad*. Santiago, 1843-. (147 vols. to 1920.)  
*Bol. de la Acad. Chil.*—*Boletín de la Academia Chilena, Correspondiente de la Real Academia Española*, 1915-. (2 vols to 1920.)

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<sup>3</sup> For references to volumes of the *Anales de la Universidad*, before 1900, he referred almost entirely to the two indices of 1890 and 1900, namely:

Valenzuela y Guzmán, Eduardo. *Apéndice á los Anales de la Universidad. Índice alfabético y analítico. Trabajos publicados 1843-1887*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1890. 4°. 160 p. + Ind.

*Índice de los trabajos de la Universidad desde 1888 hasta 1899 (Hecho por la Secretaría General)*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1900. 4°. 50 p.

*Chile Intellectual*.—Chile Intellectual. Revista literaria ilustrada con colaboración selecta. Ciencias, artes, industrias, comercio, bellas letras. Redactor propietario: Nicolás Arellano y Yecorat. Oct. 9, 1898 to Jan., 1899. (6 numbers.)

*El Crepúsculo*. Mensual. June 1, 1843, to Aug. 1, 1844. (2 vols.)

*El Museo*.—El Museo. Periódico científico i literario publicado en Santiago en 1853. Redactado por Diego Barros Arana. Santiago de Chile, 1853. (1 vol.)

*Est. de Ch.*—La Estrella de Chile. Periódico semanal, literario, religioso i político. Santiago de Chile, 1867–1879. (16 vols.)

*Juventud*.—Juventud. Editada por la Federación de Estudiantes de Chile. July, 1918 to Dec., 1919. (8 numbers.)

*Los Diez*.—Los Diez. Ediciones mensuales de filosofía, arte y literatura Santiago de Chile. Sept., 1916 to 1917. (4 numbers of the magazine.)

*Los Tiempos*.—Los Tiempos. Diario. Jan. 1, 1878 to Feb. 28, 1882.

*Rev. (1) Cat.*—La Revista Católica. Periódico filosófico, histórico y literario. Santiago, 1843–1874. (16 vols.)

*Rev. (2) Cat.*—Revista Católica. Periódico semanal, religioso, filosófico, histórico y literario. Santiago de Chile, 1893–1894. (3 vols.)

*Rev. (3) Cat.*—Revista Católica. Periódico quincenal. Publicado bajo la dirección del clero de la Arquidiócesis de Santiago de Chile. Santiago de Chile, 1901–. (36 vols. to 1919.)

*Rev. (1) Chil.*—Revista Chilena, publicada bajo la dirección de Miguel Luis Amunátegui i Diego Barros Arana. Santiago, 1875–1880. (16 vols.)

*Rev. (2) Chil.*—La Revista Chilena. Director: Enrique Matta Vial. Santiago, 1917–. (8 vols. to Sept., 1919.)

*Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*—Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía. Publicación trimestral. Órgano de la Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía. Santiago, 1911–. (29 vols. to 1919.)

*Rev. de A. y L.*—La Revista de Artes y Letras. Santiago, 1884–1890. (18 vols.)

*Rev. de Bibl.*—Revista de Bibliografía Chilena y Extranjera. Publicada mensualmente por la sección de informaciones de la Biblioteca Nacional. Santiago de Chile, 1913–1918. (6 vols.)

*Rev. de C. i L.*—La Revista de Ciencias i Letras. Santiago, 1857. (1 vol.)

*Rev. (1) de Ch.*—Revista de Chile. Santiago, 1881. (2 vols.)

*Rev. (2) de Ch.*—La Revista de Chile. Publicación quincenal. De propiedad de los señores Luis Arrieta C., Gustavo A. Holley, Alamiro Huidobro V., Eduardo Lamas G., i Karlos Newman. Santiago, 1898–1901. (7 vols.)

*Rev. (1) de Sant.*—Revista de Santiago. Santiago de Chile, 1848–50. (7 vols.)

*Rev. (2) de Sant.*—Revista de Santiago. Fanor Velasco i Augusto Orrego Luco, Directores. Santiago, 1872–1873. (3 vols.)

*Rev. de S. A.*—Revista de Sud-América. Anales de la Sociedad de Amigos de la Ilustración. Valparaíso, 1860–1863. (4 vols.)

*Rev. del Pacíf.*—Revista del Pacífico. Publicación quincenal. Valparaíso, 1858–1861. (5 vols.)

*Rev. del Prog.*—Revista del Progreso. Publicación quincenal. (Órgano del Club del Progreso) Dirección: Santiago Aldunate B., Luis Arrieta Cañas, Luis Barros B., Alvaro Bianchi T., i Julio de D. Vial Guzmán. Santiago de Chile, 1888–1890. (4 vols.)

- Rev. Nueva*.—La Revista Nueva. Literatura, ciencias, artes, etc. Santiago de Chile, 1900-1903. (7 vols.)
- S. A.*—Sud América. Revista científica i literaria. Publicación quincenal. Santiago, 1873-1874. (3 vols.)
- Sem.*—La Semana. Revista noticiosa, literaria i científica redactada por Justo i Domingo Arteaga Alemparte. Santiago, 1859-1860. (2 vols.)

In the following list, the authors are arranged alphabetically, but any author's material, if he has more than one title, is arranged chronologically.

#### LIST OF TITLES

1. "Académico". *Un remordimiento* por Shade [Mariana Cox Stuyen]. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, XVII. 27-31.
2. Aguirre Vargas, Carlos. Un libro inédito [*Liberto penitente, alias, el pecador arrepentido* by José Manuel Oteyza]. *Est. de Ch.*, XIII. 986-1000.
3. ———— La poesía en el coloniaje. *Ibid.*, XV. 597ff.
4. Aguirre Vargas, Vicente. *El Cauteverio feliz* de Bascuñán. *Est. de Ch.*, VI. 561-4, 581-5, 597-601.
5. ———— El padre Alonso de Ovalle. *Ibid.*, VII. 477-80, 490-5, 508-11, 524-8.
6. *Á la memoria de don Luis Montt*. Santiago de Chile, Soc. Imp. y Lit. Universo, 1910. 4°. 128 p. Port.

This volume includes the biography from Figueroa's *Diccionario*, press notices and letters to R. Laval on the occasion of the death of L. Montt.

7. Alfonso del Barrio, José A. *Benjamín Dávila Larraín*. Santiago, Imp. Moderna, 1899. 104 × 79 mm. 51 p. Port. [Vaisse].

Also published in *Rev. (2) de Ch.*, II. 330 ff. See also *Corona fúnebre á la memoria de B. Dávila Larraín*.

8. Alfonso, Paulino. Prologue to *Crónicas literarias* by F. Nieto del Río (*q. v.*).
9. ———— Don José Victorino Lastarria. *Rev. (2) Chil.*, I. May, 1917.
10. ———— Discurso. . . . *Bol. de la Acad. Chil.*, II. 287-305.

The first part is a biographical sketch of Jorge Huneeus y Zegers.

11. Alonso V., Roberto. *Veladas literarias*, poesías de Ambrosio Montt y Montt. *Rev. de A. y L.*, III. 555-62.
12. ———— *Marianita*, novela por Vicente Grez. *Ibid.*, IV. 552-63.

"Este artículo se encuentra reproducido en L. I. Silva, *La Novela en Chile*, pp. 138-53." Vaisse, *Bibliografía General* . . .

13. Allendes, Washington. Apuntes biográficos. Carlos Grez Torres. *Rev. (1) Chil.*, XVI. 343-7.
14. ———— Julio Bañados Espinosa y sus trabajos literarios. *Ibid.*, XVI. 355-69.

15. Amunátegui y Aldunate, Gregorio Víctor. *Historiadores chilenos*. Alonso de Ovalle. *Rev. (1) de Sant.*, III. 112-22.
16. ——— D. Guillermo Blest Gana (Sus poesías). *Rev. del Pacíf.*, V. 157-67, 205-18.
17. ——— Pedro de Oña, *Arauco Domado*. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1862, XXI. 18 ff.
18. ——— Manuel Antonio Tocornal. Discurso. . . *Ibid.*, 1869, Second Semester, p. 95ff.
19. Amunátegui y Aldunate, Miguel Luis. Camilo Henríquez. *Rev. (1) de Sant.*, I. 45-59.
20. ——— Leyendas y obras dramáticas de don Salvador Sanfuentes. *Análisis*. *Ibid.*, III. 314-22.
21. ——— Literatura americana. Si alguna vez podrá haberla como hay una francesa y una inglesa. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1852, IX. 457ff.
22. ——— El coronel don José Rodríguez Ballesteros. *El Museo*, 1853, I. 161ff.
23. ——— Camilo Henríquez, p. 24ff. of Narciso Desmadryl, *Galería nacional ó colección de biografías y retratos de hombres célebres de Chile*. [Santiago, Imp. Chilena, 1854. 2 vols. in Fol. XIII + 235 p. + Ind., and 236 p. + Ind.]
24. ——— Bernardo de Vera y Pintado. *Ibid.*, II. 214ff.
25. ——— Don Eusebio Lillo. *Rev. del Pacíf.*, I. 257-78.
26. ——— Don Bernardo Vera y Pintado. *Sem.*, I. 147ff.
27. ——— Crítica literaria. Don Andrés Bello. Poesías. *Rev. del Pacíf.*, III. 329-47, 697-711; IV. 5-20, 140-9, 211-23.
28. ——— La novela *Aritmética en el amor* de Blest Gana. Informe. . . *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1860, p. 1006ff.

Presented by M. L. Amunátegui and J. V. Lastarria to the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the University of Chile, Nov. 2, 1860. "Reimpreso en L. I. Silva, *La novela en Chile*, p. 46-56." Valisse, *Bibliografía General* . . .

29. ——— Don Salvador Sanfuentes. Sus poesías. *Sem.*, II. 103-9, 136-40, 201-8.
30. ——— *Doña Mercedes Martín de Solar*. Santiago, Imp. de la República, 1867. Pamphlet of 63 p. in 8°.

This study was also published in the *Alborada poética* (q. v.).

31. ——— Don García Hurtado de Mendoza y don Alonso de Ercilla. *Rev. (2) de Sant.*, I. 248-62.
32. ——— El primer periodista de Chile [Camilo Henríquez]. *Ibid.*, I. 289-309.
33. ——— La introducción de *Las representaciones teatrales en Chile*. *Ibid.*, I. 433-47.
34. ——— El establecimiento del teatro en Chile después de la independencia. *Ibid.*, I. 481-505.
35. ——— Carácter político i social del teatro en Chile. *Ibid.*, I. 561-84.
36. ——— Las primeras composiciones dramáticas i las primeras críticas de teatro escritas en Chile. *Ibid.*, I. 647-65.



37. Amunátegui y Aldunate, Gregorio Víctor. Don José Joaquín de Mora. *Ibid.*, I. 749-65, 815-32, 857-70; II. 47-57, 66-74, 145-50, 205-13, 325-40, 395-407, 453-61, 547-78, 612-36. See Amunátegui, *J. J. de Mora, A puntos*. . . .
38. ——— Don Ventura Blanco Encalada. *Ibid.*, II. 720-43.

This was also published in V. Blanco Encalada, *Artículos Escogidos*, p. 461ff. Vaisse states that it also appeared under the title, *Apuntes biográficos sobre Ventura Blanco Encalada*. Valparaíso, Imp. del Mercurio, 1873. 8°. 79 p.

39. ——— *Los orígenes de la iglesia chilena por don Crescente Errázuriz*. S. A., Vols. I and II. [Anrique, *Ensayo de una bibliografía*. . . ].
40. ——— Biografía de D. Andrés Bello. Published in *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Artes*. . . .
41. ——— Don Manuel Antonio Tocornal y Grez. *Ibid.*
42. ——— Vicente Carvallo y Goyeneche. *Rev. (1) Chil.*, II. 266-84.
43. ——— *Descripción histórico-jeográfica del reino de Chile por Don Vicente Carvallo Goyeneche, precedida de una biografía del autor por M. L. Amunátegui*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de la Lib. del Mercurio, 1875. 2 vols in 4°. XVII + 342 p.; and, 488 p. [Vols. VIII. and IX. of the *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*<sup>4</sup>]
44. ——— *Narraciones históricas*. Santiago, Imp. Nacional, 1876. 125 × 73 mm. 403 p. [Vaisse, *Bibliog. General*.]

"El cauteverio feliz", p. 333ff.

45. ——— Don Carlos y Don Francisco Bello. *Rev. (1) Chil.*, XIII. 482-500.
46. ——— Don Camilo Henríquez. *Los Tiempos*, Apr. 4, 1881.
47. ——— *Vida de Don Andrés Bello*. Santiago de Chile, Impreso por Pedro G. Ramírez, 1882. 8°. VI + 672 p.

In the preface the author states that his interest in Bello led him to undertake various biographical and critical studies previous to this. He then continues—"Sin embargo en ninguna de ellas, tuve oportunidad de consignar noticias tan numerosas, tan completas, tan exactas, como las que ahora suministroo.

En efecto, para elaborar este libro, no solo he rectificado escrupulosamente mis trabajos anteriores, sino que también me he aprovechado de muchos papeles i apuntes inéditos."

48. ——— Introduction to the *Obras Completas de A. Bello. Vol. III. Poetas*. Santiago, Impreso por Pedro G. Ramírez, 1883. LXXXIV + 570 p. [Vaisse].
49. ——— Introduction to *Obras Completas de A. Bello. Vols. VI.-VIII. Opúsculos literarios y críticos*, 1883-5. CXLII + 480 p.; CVII + 476 p.; and CXVIII + 484 p. [Vaisse].
50. ——— Artículo de crítica sobre la *Historia Jeneral de Chile* de Don Diego Barros Arana. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1884, p. 355ff. and p. 420ff. [Vaisse].
51. ——— Biografía de Don Bernardo Vera y Pintado. Pp. 411-53 of *Anuario de la Libertad Electoral. Año II*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de la Libertad Electoral, 1888.

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<sup>4</sup> *Colección de Historiadores de Chile i de Documentos relativos d la historia nacional*. Santiago. 1861- (31 vols. to 1905).

52. Amunátegui y Aldunate, Gregorio Víctor. *Las primeras representaciones dramáticas en Chile. Edición oficial.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1888. 4°. 398 p.

In this volume Amunátegui quotes many interesting documents in his discussion of church plays in Colonial times, the attitude of the church toward the theater, the first theater in Chile, theaters after the establishment of the Republic, first plays of that period, character of the audiences, attitude of the authorities, dramatic companies, the first opera company, J. J. de Mora, folk dances, the political and social character of the theater, hostility of the clericals, first productions by Chilean authors, Spanish romanticism, censorship, translations, original plays, causes of the slender production and Sarah Bernhardt in Chile.

53. ——— *Don José Joaquín de Mora. Apuntes biográficos.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1888. 8°. 351 p.

"... contiene las más interesantes noticias sobre los progresos de la enseñanza en Chile i sobre los sucesos políticos de nuestro país durante los años transcurridos de 1828 á 1830 . . . Como caracterización . . . la obra de Amunátegui es verdaderamente un retrato de cuerpo entero en el cual se puede conocer al hombre i el tiempo en que vivió." Barros Arana, *M. L. Amunátegui*, p. 162-3.

54. ——— *Camilo Henríquez. Edición oficial.* Santiago, Imp. Nacional, 1889. 2 vols. in 8°. 344 p.; and, 391 p.

A discussion with lengthy quotations of the various phases of Henríquez's career; revolutionary, political, religious, and literary.

In Vol. II. are inserted *Camila ó la patriota de Sud-América. Drama en cuatro actos* (p. 309-52) and *La inocencia en el asilo de las virtudes. Drama en tres actos* (p. 353-85).

55. ——— *La alborada poética en Chile después del 18 de setiembre de 1810.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1892. 8°. 568 p.

The life and career of Camilo Henríquez (In the appendix two articles by him regarding the public treasury of Chile):—Bernardo de Vera; his education, arrest and imprisonment, entrance into public life, first poems, his part in Chile's struggle for independence, dramatic productions, articles in the *Mercurio de Chile*, attacks made upon him because of them, his library, later poems, and public life:—Ventura Blanco Encalada; his education in Madrid, activities during the Napoleonic invasion, return to Santiago, early writings, public life, and the judgment of his poetry by Pío Varas and Manuel Blanco Cuartín:—Mercedes Marín del Solar; her education, marriage, attitude toward education of women, her poetic compositions and the judgment of critics.

56. ——— *Don Salvador Sanfuentes. Apuntes biográficos. Edición oficial.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1892. 4°. 563 p.

Like the 1866 edition (See G. V. and M. L. Amunátegui) except for slight changes and the addition of the chapter (p. 545-53) entitled, "Discurso pronunciado por Don Ventura Blanco Viel en honor de Don Salvador Sanfuentes. Biografía del poeta chileno escrita por Don Juan María Gutiérrez".<sup>5</sup>

57. ——— *Ensayos biográficos. Edición oficial.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1893-6. 4 vols. in 8°. 421 p.; 408 p. + Ind.; 376 p. + Ind.; and, 465 p. + Ind.

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<sup>5</sup> The biography by Gutiérrez was published in the *Revista de la Plata* in a collection of studies entitled "Biblioteca de escritores en verso, nacidos de la América del habla español, antiguos y modernos".

In Vol. II. the introductory chapter, "Don Andrés Bello", gives a rapid sketch of his education, life in London, literary activities during that period and his various activities in Chile. The other chapters are:—"De la influencia de Don Andrés Bello en los orígenes del movimiento intelectual moderno de Chile", "Las preocupaciones de Don Andrés Bello", "La reforma ortográfica", "Un paquete de cartas" (Letters throwing light on the character of Bello and his interest in children), "Don Andrés Bello i Don Francisco Bilbao", "Literatos i bestias" (Notes on animals who have passed into history. Bello's affection for cats.), "El primer amor de Don Andrés Bello", "Don Carlos Bello", "Don Francisco Bello", "Don Juan Bello".

Vol. III. "M. A. Tocornal i Grez", p. 1-107.—"José Joaquín Vallejo", p. 111-276. Of this monograph the author says: "Me propongo escribir una vida de . . . Vallejo, o mejor dicho, arreglar una especie de memorias redactadas, en cuanto sea posible, por él mismo; para la cual me aprovecharé no sólo de los artículos suyos que circulan impresos en un volumen, i de muchos que existen diseminados en periódicos de distintas fechas i lugares, sino también de un gran número de cartas inéditas que he logrado reunir."

Vol. IV. "Don Vicente-Carvalho i Goyeneche", p. 5-36. Sketch of his life without literary criticism of *La Relación jeográfica del Reino de Chile*.—"Don García Hurtado de Mendoza i don Alonso de Ercilla i Zúñiga", p. 39-65. The relations between the two men; the various versions of the quarrel between Ercilla and Juan de Pineda, their sentence and its commutation.—"Don José Rodríguez Ballesteros", p. 135-51. A brief biography of the author of *Revista de la Guerra de la Independencia de Chile*, circumstances under which the book was written and criticism of it.—"Don José Antonio Torres", p. 195-224. Deals at length with the life of José Antonio's father, biography of J. A. Torres, his varied literary compositions with quotations from them.—"Don Francisco Núñez de Pineda i Bascuñán", p. 307-32. Short sketch of his life with quotations from his poetry which is characterized as inferior. In the course of his discussion of the *Cautelerio* he affirms that it is "una producción de lectura pesada e indigesta; pero que puede suministrar algunos datos curiosos sobre la condición de los indígenas, la vida de los españoles i las relaciones de éstos con aquéllos".—"Don Bernardo de Vera i Pintado", p. 335-62. The political activities of the author of the Chilean national hymn.

58. ——— *Don Manuel de Salas. Edición oficial.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1895. 3 vols. in 4°. 309 p. + Ind.; 303 p. + Ind.; and, 308 p. + Ind.

A biography with extensive quotations from numerous documents.

59. Amunátegui Aldunate, Gregorio Víctor and Miguel Luis. *Biografías de americanos.* Santiago, Imp. Nacional, Diciembre de 1854. 8°. 389 p.

This collection includes the following literary men of Chile:—A. Bello (p. 3-223), C. Henríquez (p. 305-15), Manuel Salas (p. 350-71), and, José Rodríguez Ballesteros (p. 375-89).

60. ——— *Juicio de algunos poetas hispano-americanos. Obra premiada en el certamen abierto por la Facultad de Filosofía i Humanidades de la Universidad de Chile el año de 1859.* Santiago, Imp. del Ferrocarril, 1861. 4°. XIV + 388 p. + Ind.

This was also published in the *Anal. de la Unis.* Vols. XIII. to XVIII.

The introduction includes the report of the committee (J. V. Lastarria and J. Blest Gana). The Chilean poets considered are E. Lillo, A. Bello, S. Sanfuentes, G. Blest Gana and G. Matta. A biography of Lillo is given, his poems freely quoted and defects and merits mentioned.—Bello is considered only as a poet. For biographical details the reader is referred to the life of this scholar published by M. L. Amunátegui in 1854. Bello's poetical works are quoted extensively and criticised in detail.—Discussion of the question raised by Sarmiento in 1842 (why there were no poets in Chile), details of the life of Sanfuentes, plot of *Juana de Nápoles* with criticism, plot, and discussion of *El Bandido*, list of works inspired by the *Araucana* and Sanfuentes's indebtedness to Ercilla.—General criticism of Blest Gana, his romantic tendencies, the argument of *Flor de Soledad* and unfavorable criticism of the characters of the *Conjuración de Almagro*.—The

tendency of Matta to depict scenes from the Old World rather than the New, an explanation of his popularity in Chile and examples of his good and bad verses.

"Las alas faltan á su crítica, que se pierde en detalles, aglomera las citas, se complace en buscar con paciencia inverosmíl, . . . la arruja, la henchidura, el borrón, la frase contrahacha, el olvido de la lei gramatical o de la lei retórica, perdiendo en ese trabajo microscópico la mirada que ilumina". Alemparte, *Los candidatos* . . . , p. 22.

"Cualquiera que sea el juicio que puede formarse sobre este libro, no es posible desconocer el gran trabajo de erudición i de estudio que él revela . . . Los hermanos Amunátegui recojieron con una paciencia infinita noticias biográficas i literarias acerca de cada poeta i de las circunstancias en medio de las cuales les tocó vivir, han leído i clasificado uno a uno todos sus escritos, i han hecho la exposición de ellos con una claridad i una transparencia que revela la seriedad de su preparación." Barros Arana, *D. Miguel Luis Amundtegui*, p. 117.

61. ——— *D. Salvador Sanfuentes*. Santiago, Imp. de la República, Julio de 1866. 8°. 171 p.

The authors quote at length from Sanfuentes' diary, give in full a number of his early poems, and cite many official documents. Little literary criticism beyond a general discussion of his works.

62. ——— *D. José Joaquín Vallejo*. Santiago, Imp. de la República, Diciembre de 1866. Small 4°. 193 p.

"Es un estudio minucioso, i que contiene un arsenal de hechos i datos interesantes, como también algunas composiciones inéditas del autor." König, Intro. to *Vallejo* . . . , p. V.

63. Amunátegui Jordán, Gabriel. Justo i Domingo Arteaga Alemparte. Ensayo biográfico i juicio crítico. *Anal. de la Univ.*, CXLII. 477-570; CXLIII. 3-73.

——— *Justo i Domingo Arteaga*. . . . Santiago, Imp. y Lit. Barcelona, 1919. 8°. 173 p.

"Elegante y muy completa monografía de estos ilustres escritores. Revela en su joven autor dotes nada vulgares de investigador prolijo, de crítico agudo y de escritor fácil." Review by "S" in *Rev. (¿) Chil.*, VIII. p. 224.

64. Amunátegui Reyes, Miguel Luis. *El Tomo XV de la Obras Completas de Don Andrés Bello*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1893. 8°. 45 p.

List of works not included in Vol. XV., among them several selections from the *Araucano* which Amunátegui Reyes quotes.

65. ——— Don Andrés Bello y Don Mariano Egaña. *Rev. (¿) de Ch.*, I. 235-42. Also published in *Nuevos Estudios* . . . (q. v.).

66. ——— *Críticas i charlas*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1902. 8°. 162 p.

"La Araucana de Ercilla . . . Edición . . . por Abraham König", pp. 3-19. Largely a discussion of the following words: *Andes, Cauten, Chile, Glaura, and Mapocho*.

67. ——— *Nuevos estudios sobre Andrés Bello*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. i Enc., Barcelona, 1902. 8°. 181 p.

"Don Andrés Bello en el periodismo", pp. 3-134. A study of his connection with the *Araucano*.

"Don Andrés Bello i Don Mariano de Egaña", pp. 135-60. The friendship between the two men in England, letters written to each other after Bello came to Chile and Bello's efforts to have the Chilean Senate honor Egaña's memory.

"Dos composiciones poéticas de Don Andrés Bello", p. 173ff. (The copy examined was mutilated and these pages were missing.)



68. ——— Discurso . . . *Bol. de la Acad. Chil.*, II. 307-13.

Deals principally with the literary activities of Paulino Alfonso.

69. Amunátegui Solar, Domingo. Recuerdos biográficos. *Rev. (1) Chil.*, XIV. 268-97.

This study includes Rodolfo A. Philippi, Andrés Antonio Gorbea, Claudio Gay, Ignacio Domeyko, Carlos Guillermo Moesta, and Armando Pissis.

70. ——— *Mujer i angel* [novel by Enrique Montt]. *Ibid.*, XIV. 398-402.

71. ——— Don José Perfecto Salas. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XCI. 433ff.

72. ——— José María de Rozas. *Ibid.*, XCIV. 477ff.

73. ——— *El Mercurio de Chile*. *Ibid.*, XCIV. 645ff.

74. ——— Juan José de Santa Cruz. *Ibid.*, XCVII. 663ff.

75. ——— *Apuntes biográficos. Don Francisco Solano Astaburuaga*. Imp. Cervantes, 1905. 176 × 99 mm. 86 p. [Vaisse, *Bibliog. General* . . .].

Also published in *Anal. de la Univ.*, XCVI. 19-169.

76. ——— Camilo Henríquez (*Galería nacional de biografías y retratos de hombres célebres de Chile*). 8p.

"Reproducido en el número 84 de febrero de 1912 de la *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional*." Vaisse, *Bibliog. General* . . .

77. ——— Don Manuel Montt y el sabio Bello. *Rev. (2) de Ch.*, I. 100-6.

78. ——— *Bosquejo histórico de la literatura chilena. Periodo colonial*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Universitaria, 1918. 8°. 104 p. + Ind.

First published in *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, VI. 105-35; XI. 5-39; XIII. 17-34.

A condensed history giving the essential details of the authors' lives with critical judgment of their works.

"Será obra útil como texto de enseñanza y más aun para las personas que—sin querer ahondar la materia—deseen formarse una idea de conjunto del movimiento intelectual de Chile durante la era colonial. Su simple lectura bien a las claras deja comprender que el autor domina la materia: pero que a cada instante se contiene, omite, violentándose, juicios y pormenores, para no salir del marco que de antemano se trasara." Review by "P" in *Rev. (2) Chil.*, VIII. 223-4.

- 78a. ——— *Bosquejo histórico de la literatura chilena*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Universitaria, 1920. 8°. 669 p.

Reprint of articles in the *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, XIV. 396-411; XVI. 311-51; XX. 129-77; XXI. 111-53; XXII. 136-54; XXIII. 221-40; XXIV. 154-80; XXV. 58-87; XXVI. 41-69; XXVII. 55-80; XXVIII. 138-86; XXIX. 65-115; XXX. 240-70; XXXI. 225-62; and several chapters in later volumes.

"Beginning with the historic newspaper, *La Aurora de Chile*, Señor Amunátegui traces the development of literature up to the end of the nineteenth century. Details of the authors' lives identify their personality and establish their contribution to the progress of letters. The most extensive treatment is given to Vallejo, Lastarria, Bilbao, the Amunátegui brothers, Barros Arana, and Vicuña Mackenna; although less prominent figures are not thereby obscured, most of them appearing in chapters on the Instituto Nacional, the University of Chile, journalism, memoirs, poetry, oratory, the drama, and the novel. Of living men full discussion is only devoted to Alberto Blest Gana whose long residence abroad affords sufficient perspective for critical judgment. In the closing chapter the literary movements of the century are summarized, present tendencies discussed, and mention made of the writers of today with their most important works." S. E. Leavitt, *Hispania*, May, 1921.

79. Anonymous. *La dictadura de O'Higgins* por M. L. Amunátegui. *El Museo*, 448-9.
80. ——— Mariano Egaña. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1846, 69ff.
81. ——— La historia de Gay. *Ibid.*, 1859, 469ff.
82. ——— Claudio Gay. *Ibid.*, 1860, 267ff.
83. ——— *Compendio de Historia de América* de Barros Arana. *Ibid.*, 1865, 634ff.
84. ——— *Fernando Magallanes* por Barros Arana. *Ibid.*, 1874, 462ff.
85. ——— *Juicio sobre la vida de José Miguel Infante* por Domingo Santa María. *Rev. (1) Cat.*, VI. 629-32, 661-4, 693-5.
86. ——— Barros Arana. Sus nociones de historia. *Rev. (1) Cat.*, XIII. 113-15, 121-4, 129-31, 137-9, 145-8, 153-6, 161-4, 193-6, 201-4, 217-20, 225-8, 233-6, 241-4, 249-52.
87. ——— Biografía del Sr. Pbdo. Don José Ramón Saavedra. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, XII. 371-5.
88. ——— *Pláticas literarias*, por Pedro Nolasco Cruz. *Rev. del Prog.*, III. 657-60.
- "Apenta, Fray". See Alejandro Baeza.
89. *Apuntes biográficos acerca del Ilmo. y Revdmo. Señor Arzobispo de Santiago Dr. D. Mariano Casanova* (Notable carta de un ecuatoriano). Valparaíso, Imp. y Lib. Americana, 1887. 8°. 38 p.  

A biographical sketch with considerable extraneous material but containing a fair amount of facts. A long passage (p. 13-25) is given from the funeral sermon delivered after the conflagration of the *Compañía*, Dec. 8, 1863.
90. "A. R." *Vida de Don Andrés Bello* por M. L. Amunátegui. *Rev. (1) de Ch.*, II. 287-91.
- Araya, Juan Agustín. See Julio Molina.
91. Arellano y Yecorat, Juan. *Biblioteca de la Juventud. Los periodistas de la democracia ante la historia*. Santiago, Imp. B. Vicuña Mackenna, 1894. 8°. XXIII + 277 p. + Erratas.  

Biographies, sketchy at times, of seventy-three journalists. Among them appear J. Bañados Espinosa, P. P. Figueroa, A. Blanlot Holley, M. Vargas, L. Eliz, E. Bello Codecido, M. Rodríguez Mendoza, and W. Allendes.
92. ——— *Biografía nacional. Semblanzas parlamentarias (1897-1900)*. Santiago, Imp. de El Imparcial, 1898. 4°. 313 p. + Erratas.  

Brief biographical sketches of the senators and deputies of that period. Incomplete in detail. The volume includes M. Martínez, C. Walker Martínez, G. Matta y Goyeneche, J. Bañados Espinosa, J. Huneeus Gana, and E. del Campo.
93. ——— *Amor, copas y sangre*, por E. Allende Ríos. L. I. Silva, *La novela en Chile*, p. 12-14. [Vaisse, *Bibliog. General*. . . ].
94. ——— Clemente Barahona Vega. *Chile Intelectual*, I. 53-4.
95. ——— Miguel Luis Rocuant; Luis F. Contardo. *Ibid.*, I. 65-66.
96. Arteaga Alemparte, Domingo.<sup>6</sup> *Vida i escritos* de D. Salvador Sanfuentes. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XVIII. 506-20; and, *Rev. del Pacíf.*, III. 559-75.

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<sup>6</sup> For details of the life of Arteaga Alemparte see "La muerte i el entierro del señor don Domingo Arteaga Alemparte", Intro. to *Obras completas. Tomo I. Poetas*. Santiago. Imp. de los Tiempos, 1880. 4°. XXXXVIII + 192 p.

97. ——— Vida i escritos de don José Joaquín Vallejo. Discurso de incorporación . . . en la Facultad de Filosofía i Humanidades. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XXVIII. 455-64.
98. ——— Francisco de Paula Matta. Published in *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Letras*. . . .
99. ——— Poesías de Andrés Bello. *Ibid.*
100. ——— Juan Bello. *Ibid.*
101. Arteaga Alemparte, Justo. Cuatro novelas de Alberto Blest Gana [*Juan de Aria, El primer amor, Engaños y desengaños, La fascinación*]. *Sem.*, I. 209-11.
102. ——— *Los candidatos en candelero. I. Don Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna*. Santiago, Imp. de la Lib. del Mercurio, 1875. 8°. IV + 53 p.  

A spirited sketch of his life up to 1875.
103. ——— *Los candidatos . . . II. Don Miguel Luis Amundtegui*. Santiago, Imp. de la Lib. del Mercurio, 1875. 8°. 52 p.  

An account of his life and the success of his books.
104. Arteaga Alemparte, Domingo and Justo. *Los constituyentes chilenos de 1870*. Santiago, Imp. de la Libertad, 1870. 4°. 664 p. + Erratas.  

——— *Los constituyentes* . . . [Biblioteca de Escritores de Chile]. *Con un bosquejo crítico por don Roberto Huneus*. Santiago, Imp. Barcelona, Año de 1910. 8°. LXII + 470 p.

Biographies of the members of the Constituent Congress of 1870. Those interesting from a literary standpoint are: J. V. Lastarria, M. A. Matta, M. L. Amunátegui, M. González, C. Cobo, Z. Rodríguez, G. Matta, A. Montt, J. Blest Gana, I. Errázuriz, P. L. Gallo, M. Concha y Toro, V. Reyes, J. Nepomuceno Espejo, P. F. Vicuña, C. Walker Martínez, E. del Solar, E. Bello, D. Barros Arana, A. Cifuentes, A. König, and A. Blest Gana.

"Sobre la veintena que se extiende desde las postrimerías del gobierno de Bulnes . . . hasta los últimos años de la administración Pérez, no tenemos hasta ahora mejor fuente de información que *Los Constituyentes Chilenos*. . . Los juicios y las noticias andan diseminadas, aquí y allá, muchas veces repetidos; pero, así y todo es una obra indispensable para conocer aquel período . . . [Los retratos] revelan un conocimiento cabal de los hechos y de los hombres . . . Precede á la obra una erudita introducción en que Roberto Huneus consigna prolijas noticias biográficas de los Arteaga y estudia su labor literaria, periodista y política con acertado criterio." E. Matta Vial, *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, I. 339-40.
105. Astaburuaga, Francisco Solano. El Abate Molina. *El Crepúsculo*, I. 1843, 129-39.
106. ——— J. Ignacio Molina. *Anal. de la Univ*, 1860, 630ff.
107. Astorquiza, Eliodoro. Tres olvidados (El Padre Ginebra, Oscar Sepúlveda, Daniel Barros Grez). *Rev. (S) Chil.*, II. 162-70.
108. ——— Don Jorge Huneus, historiador de nuestra literatura. *Juventud*, II. No. 7, 128-32.
109. Atria, Jorge Octavio. *Rasgos de una vida laboriosa. Pedro Pablo Figueroa (Boceto biográfico antecedido de un proemio de J. Félix Rocuant H.)*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Portaña, 1895. 8°. 128 p. Port.

The public career of Figueroa, his literary activities in Chile and abroad, an account of his works with characterization of most of them, their popularity, defense of Figueroa against certain attacks made upon him, and an explanation of his attitude during and after the Revolution of 1891 in which he took the side of Balmaceda.

110. Baeza, Alejandro ("Fray Apenta"). *Repiques. Primera serie.* Santiago, Imp. Universitaria, 1916. 16°. 190 p.

Notes in a semi-humorous vein on the following writers: C. Barella, A. G. Bravo, A. Cruchaga S.M., J.I. de la Cruz, M. Jara, J. Lagos Lisboa, M. Magallanes Moure, A. Mauret Caamaño, G. Mistral, J. Munizaga Ossandón, P. Prado, C. Préndez Saldías, A. Reid, A. Ortiz, C. Nuñez, and A. Peralta.

111. Balmaceda Toro, Pedro. *Estudios y ensayos literarios.* Santiago, Imp. Cervantes, 1889. 8°. XXXVIII + 384 p.

The introduction, by M. Rodríguez Mendoza, is a characterization of Balmaceda Toro without biographical detail.

"Alberto Blest G.", p. 233-9. Anecdotes and the character of the man.

"Bernardino Guajardo", p. 241-5. General characterization.

"Juicio de la prensa", p. 319-35.

112. "Bálsamo". Los cuentos en verso de Guillermo Matta. *El Museo*, 270-1.

113. Bañados Espinosa, Julio. *Historiadores de Chile.* Tomo undécimo publicado por don Luis Montt. *Rev. (1) Chil.*, XIII. 225-42. See "Cronistas nacionales" in *Letras y política*.

114. ——— Lijeras consideraciones sobre las cualidades literarias del Señor Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna. *Ibid.*, XIII. 399-419.

"Con algunas lijeras variaciones fuera de la supresión completa del parrafo VII (pp. 413-4) con el título "D. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna" en *Ensayos y bosquejos*". Valsse, *Bibliog. General* . . .

115. ——— Los destinos de la poesía americana. *Ibid.*, XIII. 433-64.

116. ——— Juicio crítico sobre la *Historia de la Campaña del Perú en 1838* por Gonzalo Bulnes i réplica a los cargos que le hace el Señor Paz Soldán. *Ibid.*, XIV. 54-99.

117. ——— Ensayo crítico sobre las poesías de J. A. Soffia. *Ibid.*, XV. 357-65, 487-508; XVI. 168-89.

"Con la supresión de páginas enteras, de toda la segunda parte y de muchísimos de los versos citados, se insertó en *Ensayos y bosquejos* con el título 'Poesías y poemas de . . .'" Valsse, *Bibliog. General* . . .

118. ——— Ensayo crítico sobre la primera parte de los *Recuerdos literarios* de José Victorino Lastarria. *Ibid.*, XVI. 306-26.

". . . con algunas modificaciones y supresiones en *Ensayos y bosquejos* . . ." Valsse, *Bibliog. General*.

119. ——— *Al amor de la lumbre* (Poesías de Adolfo Valderrama). *Rev. (1) de Ch.*, I. 358-68.

120. ——— Estudios sobre la vida y escritos de Domingo Arteaga Alemparte. *Los Tiempos*, Oct. 27-30; Nov. 2, 6, 9, 16-20 and 25, 1881.

121. ——— Pinceladas históricas sobre la literatura nacional desde 1823 á 1849. See P. B. Briceño, *Bocetos* . . .

122. ——— *Ensayos y bosquejos.* Santiago, Imp. de la Lib. Americana, 1884. 8°. VIII + 518 p.

"Domingo Arteaga Alemparte", p. 1-90. Biography, with little discussion of his works.

"Poesías de Domingo Arteaga Alemparte", p. 91-111. Arteaga's place in Chilean literature, points of contact with A. Bello, and the chief characteristics of his best poems.



"*Recuerdos literarios* por José Victorino Lastarria", p. 200-28. This article gives a summary of the literary situation of Chile from its independence to 1849, the nature of the *Recuerdos*, prominence of Lastarria in his narration, the injustice shown Bello, Lastarria's style and his skill in portraiture.

"Poemas y poesías de J. A. Soffia", p. 267-319. Soffia's facility for rhyming, his knowledge of the art of sounds, purity of his love poems, excellence of his imitations, and a detailed analysis of the narrative poems, *La ingratitude* and *Michimalonco*.

"D. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna", p. 342-73. The many sided character of Vicuña Mackenna, his fertility, variety of his works, powerful imagination, characteristic humor, variety of style, disregard of conventions, long introductions, and conception of history.

"*El Kaleidoscopio*", p. 471-92. This title refers to a collection of historical studies published in 1883 by Francisco Fernández Rodella under the pseudonym of "Fernán Alledor". Bañados Espinosa characterizes the author as French by birth and Chilean at heart and analyses the different articles that appear in the book. Vaisse states that this study by Bañados Espinosa was first published in *Los Lunes de Santiago*, Apr. 2, 1883, and printed here with some omissions.

"Don Andrés Bello", p. 493-504. A speech delivered in the *Teatro Municipal*, Nov. 27, 1881, on the occasion of Bello centenary.

"Camilo Henríquez", p. 505-18. A lecture given in the Juan Gutenberg school, rapidly sketching the life of Henríquez. Vaisse states that it was published in the *Revista Literaria*, Santiago, 1878, I, 37-42.

123. ——— *Letras y política*. Valparaíso, Imp. de la Patria, 1888. 8°. 420 p.  
+ Ind.

"Cronistas nacionales". Written on the occasion of the publication of Vol. XI. of the collection, *Historiadores de Chile*. After discussing the defects of the chronicles Bañados Espinosa analyses the historians who figure in this volume.

"Don Miguel Luis Amunátegui", p. 91-104. A biographical sketch published in *La Patria*, Jan. 24, 1888, two days after the death of Amunátegui.

"Isidoro Errázuriz", p. 165-71. A biographical sketch published in *La Época* of Mar. 27, 1887, when Errázuriz was appointed agent of colonization in Europe. This was also published in *La Patria*, Mar. 23, 1887, and in the pamphlet (p. 1-13) *Homenajes a Don Isidoro Errázuriz al partir a Europa*. Santiago, Imp. de la Época, 1887. 80 p. [Vaisse.]

"Vicuña Mackenna", p. 261-72. An editorial from *La Época*, Jan. 27, 1886, and published as a prologue to the *Corona fúnebre*. Largely generalities.

"La crítica literaria", p. 281-7. An attack on certain schools of criticism which had arisen in Chile, deriving their inspiration from Hermosilla. No Chilean critics are named. According to Vaisse this was also published in *El Album*, No. 4, 1878.

"*Historia General de Chile* por Don Diego Barros Arana", p. 337-61. The need of a general history of Chile, the defects of Gay's contributions, the principal Chilean chroniclers, Barros Arana's industry, his narrative plan, range of the work, and a brief summary of Vols. I. to VII. Vaisse states that the part dealing with the first six books was published in *La Época*, Aug. 1, Dec. 3, 1884; May 27, Sept. 1, Dec. 29, 1885; and Oct. 31, 1886. Printed in this volume with some changes.

"Las leyendas históricas", p. 363-73. Fondness of writers for this type of literature, some reasons for this predilection, its principal exponents, and the importance of this *genre*.

124. Barahona Vega, Clemente. ("Cucalón"). *José Romero*, drama en tres actos y en verso por Juan Rafael Allende. *Los Tiempos*. May 5, 1880.
125. ——— *La juventud liberal en el Congreso*. *Apuntes biográficos*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de El Progreso, 1885. 8°. 63 p.

Brief biographies with a limited number of dates. Among them appear the following literary men: J. Bañados Espinosa, J. Nepomuceno Espejo, B. Frías Collao, B. Larraín Barra, A. Montiel Rodríguez, F. A. Pinto Cruz, and A. Roldán.

126. ——— *Siluetas del Dr. Murillo*. Published in the *Corona fúnebre a la memoria del Dr. Adolfo Murillo*.

127. ——— *Don Leonardo Eliz. Perfiles críticos biográficos. Artículo inserto en el núm. 166 de la revista Flores Chilenas, con el seudónimo de Arturo Block.* Santiago, Imp. y Enc. El Globo, 1902. 8°. 8 p. Port.

Largely eulogy in general terms. No concrete facts about the life of Eliz.

128. ——— *Juicio crítico de las poestas de D. Leonardo Eliz.* Valparaíso, Imp. Sud-Americana de Babra y Cía, 1903. 8°. 16 p. Port. and autograph of author. [Vaisse.]

129. ——— *Quillota i Don Zorababel Rodríguez. Edición hecha por Gustavo Eliz M., para contribuir a la suscripción pública en pro de la erección de una estatua a don Zorababel Rodríguez en su pueblo natal de Quillota.* Valparaíso Lit. e Imp. Moderna, 1912. 16°. 23 p.

"Líneas preliminares", p. 5-8 by Gustavo Eliz M. "Una charla en el Ateneo de Santiago", p. 9-12. "El Sabor de la Tierruca", p. 13-7. Quotations from some of Z. Rodríguez's poetry. "La ciudad clásica", p. 19-23. Speech delivered by C. Barahona Vega in Feb. 22, 1903.

Few facts of importance in the whole pamphlet.

130. Barra, Eduardo de la. *Bilbao ante la sacristía. Refutación de un folleto.* Santiago, Imp. del Ferrocarril, 1872. 4°. 450 p.

A rare book. In the introduction (p. 5-20) he bitterly attacks Zorababel Rodríguez, the author of the pamphlet in question, *Bilbao, su vida y sus doctrinas*. (See Z. Rodríguez.)

Biography of Bilbao (pp. 23-96) followed by chapters on: "Filosofía i religión", p. 99-217; "Política i socialismo", p. 217-401; "¿Quién es Zorababel Rodríguez?" p. 403-13; and, "Rojos i ultramontanos," p. 414-41.

- *Bilbao ante la sacristía . . . Segunda edición.* Santiago, Imp. Nacional, 1873. 4°. 106 p.

Contains the attack on Rodríguez and the life of Bilbao.

- *Bilbao . . . Nueva edición.* Talca, Imp. El Deber, 1902. 137 × 77 mm. 2 vols. 177 p. and 208 p. [Rev. de Bibl.]

131. ——— *El Padre López.* Santiago, Imp. i Enc. de Guillermo E. Miranda, 1904. Pamphlet of 15 p.

The improvising ability of López Villaseñor i Guerrero, with quotations.

132. ——— *Francisco Bilbao. Sociabilidad Chilena. El libro barato.* Valparaíso, Lit. é Imp. Moderna, 1913. 152 × 91 mm. 66 p. Port.

Biography of Bilbao and summary of *Sociabilidad Chilena*. [L. I. Silva "Bibliog. de libros recibidos", *Anál. de la Unio.* CXXXIII. July and Aug. 1913.]

133. Barriga, Juan Agustín. *La crítica y los críticos (Tendencia crítica de la literatura contemporánea).* *Rev. de A. y L.*, X. 126-34. [Vaisse.]

134. ——— *Discursos literarios y notas críticas.* Santiago de Chile, Lib. de la Federación de Obras Católicas, Imp. La Ilustración, 1915. 8°. 282 p.

Of interest to Chilean literature is the article "Don Alonso Ercilla y Zúñiga. Discurso pronunciado en la inauguración de su estatua el 19 de Septiembre de 1910", p. 101-8.

135. ——— Discurso de contestación . . . *Bol. de la Acad. Chil.*, I. 363-73.

Deals with the literary activities of Francisco A. Concha y Castillo.

136. ——— Discurso de contestación . . . *Ibid.*, II. 409-20.

A discussion of the speech of E. MacIver on forensic oratory.

137. Barros Arana, Diego. Don Antonio García Reyes. *Rev. (1) de Sant.*, I. 748ff.; *Galería de hombres célebres de Chile* (Santiago, 1859), II. 178-88; and, *Obras Comp.*, XII. 213-30.
138. ——— Bascuñán i el *Cauteverio Feliz*. *Rev. (1) de Sant.*, V. 363-72; and, *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 283-91.
139. ——— *Historia eclesiástica, política y literaria de Chile*, por M. I. V. Eyzaguirre. *S. A.*, 1851, I. 353ff. [Vaisse.]
140. ——— El Coronel don José Rodríguez Ballesteros. *El Museo*, I. 161ff. [Vaisse.]
141. ——— *Juicio crítico de la Vida de don José Miguel Infante*, por Domingo Santa María. *Ibid.*, p. 165ff. [Vaisse.]
142. ——— *Cuentos en verso*, por G. Matta. *Ibid.*, p. 207-8.
143. ——— Crítica literaria. Plagios. *Ibid.*, p. 216ff. [Vaisse.]
144. ——— *Historia de Chile*, por Claudio Gay. Juicio crítico. *Rev. de C. y L.*, I. 389-90; and, *Obras Comp.*, IX. 100-1.
145. ——— Historiadores de Chile. Frai Melchor Martínez. *Sem.*, II. 353-60; *Rev. de S. A.*, II. 738-47; III. 7-15; *Anal. de la Univ.*, XVII. 352-66; *Rev. de C. y L.*, I. 565-81; and, *Obras Comp.*, X. 373-93.
146. ——— Noticias biográficas sobre el abate Molina. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1860, XVII. 600ff.
147. ——— Historiadores chilenos. Francisco Caro de Torres. *Ibid.*, XX. 1862, 49-56; *Rev. del Pacíf.*, V. 641-9; *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, 1864, V. 1-7; and, *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 239-49.
148. ——— *Historia física y política* por Gay. *La Agricultura. Ier Volumen.* *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1862, XXI. 42-9; and, *Obras Comp.*, XI. 231-8.
149. ——— *Martín Rivas*, novela por Blest Gana. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1862. [Vaisse.]
150. ——— *La historia de la administración Montt*, por B. Vicuña Mackenna. *Ibid.*, 1862. [Vaisse.]
151. ——— *El Cauleverio feliz, y Razón de las guerras dilatadas de Chile*, por don Francisco Núñez Pineda y Bascuñán. *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, III. I-VII.; and, *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 293-302.
152. ——— *Descubrimiento y conquista de Chile*, por M. L. Amunátegui. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XXII. 218-33.
153. ——— *Colección de historiadores de Chile y de documentos relativos á la historia nacional. Tomo I.* *Ibid.*, 1863, XXII. 209-13.
154. ——— El Licenciado Luis Tribaldos de Toledo y su obra. *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, IV. 1-3; and, *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 263-6.
155. ——— El doctor don Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa y su libro intitulado *Hechos de don García de Mendoza*. *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, V.; and, *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 207-12.

156. ——— Elogio del señor don Andrés Bello. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XXVIII. 21-32; and, *Obras Comp.*, XIII. 235-49.
157. ——— Santiago de Tesillo y su libro *Guerras de Chile*. *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, V.; and, *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 279-81.
158. ——— El Jesuita Miguel de Olivares i su obra *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile, 1593-1736*. *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, VII. V-XX.; *S. A.*, 1873, II. 801-17; and, *Obras Comp.*, X. 257-76.
159. ——— Alonso González de Nájera. *Rev. (2) de Sant.*, II. 421-9; and, *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 251-61. Cf. *Historia Jeneral de Chile*, I. p. III and 111, 440-1.
160. ——— Una nueva edición de la *Araucana* i una nueva biografía de Ercilla. *S. A.*, I. 368-76; and, *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 175-84.
161. ——— La erudición de don Andrés Bello. In *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Letras* . . . ; and, *Obras Comp.*, XIII. 253-7.
162. ——— *Don Miguel Luis Amunátegui. Candidato á la presidencia de la República*. Santiago, Imp. de El Ferrocarril, 1875. 4°. 230 p.

Intimate details of his early life, an analysis of his political career; occasion of the composition of his various books; their success and merits, and his brilliant professional career. Cf. *Don Miguel Luis Amunátegui, 1828-1888*.

163. ——— Don José Pérez García. *Historiador de Chile*. *Rev. (1) Chil.*, I. 369-80; and, *Obras Comp.*, X. 277-91.  
 "En gran parte reproducido por J. T. Medina, *Historia de la Literatura Colonial de Chile*, II. 476-89. Compiler's note to *Obras Comp.*, X, p. 277.
164. ——— *Don Claudio Gay. Su vida i sus obras. Estudio biográfico i crítico escrito por encargo del consejo de la Universidad de Chile*. Santiago de Ceile, Imp. Nacional, 1876. 8°. VIII + 235 p. Port.  
 Published in *Rev. (1) Chil.*, II. 116-34, 209-48, 564-98; III. 5-37. Cf. *Anal de la Univ.*, XLIX. and, *Obras Comp.*, XI. 241-457.  
 "Los precursores de Gay."—"Antecedentes biográficos. Su primer viaje a Chile"—"Segundo viaje de Gay a Chile. Exploración del territorio chileno."—"Gay y sus colaboradores, preparación i publicación de la *Historia Física i Política de Chile*." "Juicios acerca de la *Historia* . . . Elejido miembro del Instituto de Francia. Sus últimos años i su muerte".
165. ——— Los antiguos cronistas de Chile. G. Marmolejo, M. de Lobera, P. de Oña, Suárez de Figueroa. *La Lectura*, I. 49-53; *Historia Jeneral de Chile*, II. 278-94; and *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 185-206.
166. ——— Historiadores primitivos de la conquista de Chile. *Hist. Jeneral de Chile*, II. 265-97. [Vaisse.]
167. ——— La ilustración en Chile durante el siglo XVII. *Ibid.*, V. 386ff. [Vaisse.]
168. ——— Desarrollo de la ilustración i enseñanza en el último siglo de la era colonial. *Ibid.*, VII. 485-78. [Vaisse.]
166. ——— Los cronistas de la patria vieja. *Ibid.*, IX. 623-52. [Vaisse.]
170. ——— *Don Miguel Luis Amunátegui 1828-1888*. París, Imp. A. Lahure, n. d. 8°. III + 346 p. Port.

A "Corona fúnebre" containing two very important articles: a biography of M. L. Amunátegui, p. 331-44, by D. Barros Arana; and a bibliography by J. Abel Rosales.



"Esta biografía [which also appears in *Obras Comp.* Vol. XIII.] se publicó en 1875, con ocasión de la candidatura á la presidencia de la República del Señor Miguel Luis Amunátegui. Dicho trabajo fué completado, en 1888, con los datos de su carrera política y literaria correspondientes al período desde 1875 hasta el 22 de enero de 1888 fecha de su fallecimiento." Compiler's note, *Obras Comp.*, XIII. 261.

171. ——— El último libro de Miguel Luis Amunátegui (*Las primeras representaciones dramáticas en Chile*). *Rev. del Prog.*, I. 6-9; and, *Obras Comp.* XIII. 423-8.
172. ——— Don José Francisco Vergara, *Rev. del Prog.* II. 262-6. Vaissee cites also *Corona fúnebre de don José Francisco Vergara*. Santiago, 1890. p. 375-9. Also published in *Obras Comp.* XII. 327-32.
173. ——— Don José Francisco Vergara. Biografía escrita para servir de introducción al libro siguiente; *Don José Francisco Vergara. Discursos y escritos políticos y parlamentarios*. Santiago de Chile, 1890. [Vaissee.]

Also published in *Obras Comp.* XII. 335-65.

174. ——— Don Melchor Xufre del Águila y su libro. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1896, XCIV. 363-73; and, *Obras Comp.*, VIII. 267-78.
175. ——— *Durante la Reconquista*, novela histórica por Alberto Blest Gana. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1897, XCVII. p. 5ff.
176. ——— *Un decenio de la historia de Chile. (1841-1851)*. Santiago de Chile. Imp. y Enc. Universitaria. 1905-6. 2 vols. in 8°. 538 p. and 592 p. *Obras Comp.* XIV and XV.

Brief mention of the principal literary productions of this period.

177. ——— *Obras Completas. Tomo VIII. Estudios histórico-bibliográficos*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1910. 8°. 337 p.

"Carta al redactor de la crónica literaria de la *Revista del Pacífico* sobre la publicación de la *Colección de Historiadores de Chile*", pp. 117-22. Pub. in the *Rev. del Pacíf.* I. 776-80. The latter part of the letter is omitted here.

"*Colección de historiadores de Chile i de documentos relativos a la historia nacional. Tomo primero*", p. 123-8.

"*Descubrimiento i conquista de Chile* por M. L. Amunátegui", p. 129-35.

"Importancia de los documentos históricos", p. 139-42. Pub. in *S. A.*, I. 16-21.

"El historiador más antiguo de Chile, Don Alonso de Ercilla i Zúñiga", p. 159-74. The footnote states that it was published in *La Lectura*, Santiago, 1884, I. p. 9-12. With some modifications, it is the same as that published in Tome II. Chap. XXII of his *Historia Jeneral de Chile*.

"Una nueva edición de *La Araucana* i una nueva biografía de Ercilla [Edition of the Spanish Academy, 1866]", p. 175-84.

"Los antiguos cronistas de Chile. Góngora Marmolejo — Mariño de Lovera — Pedro de Oña — El Doctor Suárez de Figueroa", p. 185-206.

"El Dr. Don Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa", p. 207-12.

"Francisco Caro de Torres", p. 239-49.

"Alonso Gonzáles de Nájera", p. 251-61.

"Luis Tribalbos de Toledo", p. 253-6.

"Melchor Jufre del Águila i su libro", p. 267-78. Intro. to *Compendio historial del descubrimiento, conquista i guerras del reino de Chile*.

"Santiago de Tesillo", p. 279-81.

"Bascuñán i el *Cautiverio Feliz*", p. 283-91.

"Don Francisco Núñez de Pineda i Bascuñán i el *Cautiverio Feliz*", p. 293-302.

178. ———— *Obras Completas. Tomo IX. Estudios histórico-bibliográficos.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1911. 513 p.
- "Claudio Gay, *Historia de Chile*", p. 100-1.  
 "C. M. Sayago, *Historia de Copiapó*", p. 184-6.  
 "A. Blest Gana. La edición europea de sus novelas", p. 210-11.  
 "V. Carvallo i Goyenche. *Descripción del Reino de Chile*", p. 222-4.  
 "R. Sotomayor Valdés, *Historia de Chile*", p. 224-6 and 363-5.  
 "Carvallo i Goyeneche", p. 264-5.  
 "J. A. Soffia. *Poetas líricos*", p. 378-9.
179. ———— *Obras Completas. Tomo X. Estudios histórico-bibliográficos.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1911. 527 p.
- "El Jesuita Miguel de Olivares i su obra *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile*", p. 257-76.  
 "Don José Pérez García", p. 277-91.  
 "El Padre Frai Melchor Martínez", p. 373-93.
180. ———— *Obras Completas. Tomo XI. Estudios histórico-bibliográficos.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1911. 461 p.
- "*Historia física i política*, por Don Claudio Gay", p. 231-8.  
 "Don Claudio Gay. Su vida i sus obras", p. 239-457.
181. ———— *Obras Completas. Tomo XII. Estudios biográficos.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. y Enc., Barcelona, 1914. 393 p.
- "Don Antonio García Reyes", p. 213-30.
182. ———— *Obras Completas. Tomo XIII. Estudios biográficos.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. y Enc., Barcelona, 1914. 452 p.
- "Don José Joaquín Vallejo, 1809-1858", p. 225-32.  
 "Elojio del Señor Don Andrés Bello", p. 235-49.  
 "La erudición de Don Andrés Bello", p. 253-7.  
 "Don Miguel Luis Amunátegui", p. 261-419.  
 "El último libro de Don Miguel Luis Amunátegui [*La Primeras Representaciones*]," p. 423-8.
183. Barros Barros, Manuel. *Lo que no tiene sanción*, drama en tres actos y en verso por Don Antonio Espiñeira. *Rev. de A. y L.*, XIII. 198-219.
184. Barros Borgoño, Luis. Don José Francisco Vergara. *Rev. del Prog.*, II. 257-61.
185. Barros Méndez, Luis. Rasgos biográficos de Rómulo Mandiola. See R. Mandiola, *Obras*.
186. ———— Discursos de don Enrique Mac-Iver. *Rev. Nueva*, IV. 185-96.
187. "B. A. S." Enrique Molina. La Filosofía de Bergson. *Rev. (2) Chil.*, I. May, 1917.
188. Bello, Andrés. El historiador fray José Javier de Guzmán (1840). *Obras Comp.*, VII. 209-12.
189. ———— *La Araucana*, por Alonso de Ercilla. *El Araucano*. Feb. 5, 1841: *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1862 (2nd Semester), p. 3-19; and in *Opúsculos Literarios*. [Vaisse.]
190. ———— Investigaciones sobre la influencia de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile, por José Victorino Lastarria (1845). *Obras Comp.* VII. 71-88. [Vaisse.]

191. ——— *Memoria sobre las primeras campañas en la guerra de la independencia de Chile*, por Diego J. Benavente (1845). *Obras Comp.*, XV. 353-5. [Vaisse.]
192. ——— *Don Mariano de Egaña* (1847). *Obras Comp.* VII. 213-6. [Vaisse.]
193. ——— *Bosquejo histórico de la Constitución del Gobierno de Chile durante el primer período de la Revolución, desde 1810 hasta 1814*, por José Victorino Lastarria (1848). *Obras Comp.*, VII. 99-105. [Vaisse.]
194. ——— *Memoria sobre el primer gobierno nacional*, por M. A. Tocornal (1848). *Ibid.*, p. 135-50. [Vaisse.]
195. ——— *Opúsculos literarios y críticos publicados en diversos periódicos desde el año 1834 hasta 1849*. Santiago, Imp. Chilena, Enero de 1850. 200 × 121 mm. II + 320 p. [Vaisse.]
196. ——— *Obras Completas. Edición hecha bajo la dirección del Consejo de Instrucción Pública en cumplimiento de la lei de 5 de setiembre de 1872*. Santiago de Chile. 15 vols. Vol. I to XIII., Imp. Pedro G. Ramírez, Vols. XIV. and XV., Imp. Cervantes, 1881-93. [Vaisse.]

Vol. VI. *Opúsculos literarios y críticos* (I.) 1883. Intro. by M. L. Amunátegui, CXLII + 490 p.

Vol. VII. *Id.* (II.) 1884. Intro. by M. L. Amunátegui, CVII + 476 p.

Vol. VIII. *Id.* (III.) 1885. Intro. M. L. Amunátegui, CXVIII + 484 p.

197. Bilbao, Manuel. *Vida de Francisco Bilbao*. Introduction (V-CLXXXV) and appendix (CLXXXVII-CCV) to *Obras completas de Francisco Bilbao. Edición hecha por Manuel Bilbao*. Buenos Aires, Imp. de Buenos Aires, 1866. 8°. CCV + 443 p. + Ind.

The basis of many later biographies. Favorable to Bilbao and intensely anti-catholic.

I. "Nacimiento y educación primera." II. "Sus estudios en el Instituto y su aparición como reformista." III. "Su vida como católico y su conversión al racionalismo." IV. "Viaje á Europa y amistad con los filósofos." V. "Diario de su viaje en Europa, (1845, 6, 7)." VI. "Continuación del diario, (1848-9)." VII. "Su llegada á Chile. Situación de la República." VIII. "La República según los partidos políticos y la República según Bilbao." IX. "Sociedad de la Igualdad." X. "Continuación." XI. "La Revolución." XII. "La proscripción en Lima, 1851-5." XIII. "Último viaje á Europa." XIV. "Su vida pública en la confederación argentina." XV. "Vida íntima." XVI. "Sus últimos momentos."

——— *Francisco Bilbao: su vida y sus escritos. Tomo I. Edición chilena*. Santiago, Imp. Franklin, 1876. 8°. 416 p.

The copy in the *Biblioteca Nacional* lacks the last pages. Vaisse calls attention to the statement by R. Briseño (*Estadística bibliográfica de la literatura chilena*, II. 144), that this edition was published in serial form.

198. Blanco, Arturo. *Biografía del escultor don José Miguel Blanco, escrito por su hijo Arturo*. (Publicada en los *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*) [CXXXI, 112-28, 441-52]. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1912. 8°. 30 p. Port.

A biography with ample detail and a minimum of empty eulogy.

199. Blanco Cuartín, Manuel. *Poetas de J. A. Soffia. Los Tiempos*. Apr. 30, 1878; and, *Artículos Escojidos*, p. 618ff.
200. ——— Un hermoso libro. *Historia de la campaña del Perú en 1828*, por Gonzalo Bulnes. *Los Tiempos*, Dec. 10, 1878; and *Artículos Escojidos*, p. 595ff.

201. ——— Don Domingo Arteaga Alemparte. *Los Tiempos*, Apr. 14, 1880; and, *Artículos Escojidos*, p. 588ff.
202. ——— Don Rómulo Mandiola. *Los Tiempos*, Oct. 29, 1881; and, *Artículos Escojidos*, p. 543ff.
203. ——— *Artículos Escojidos de . . . con una introducción de Don Juan Larrain*. [Biblioteca de Escritores de Chile. XI.] Santiago de Chile, Imp. Barcelona, Año 1913. 8°. XXIX + 794 p.

The introduction contains an account of the ancestry of Blanco Cuartín followed by a biography. The articles related to Chilean literature are: "Estudios sobre el periodismo y la literatura nacional", p. 267-88; "Destino de nuestra poesía", p. 319-425; "Apuntes biográficos sobre Don Ventura Blanco Encalada por Miguel Luis Amunátegui y Cartas á éste por Manuel Blanco Cuartín", p. 429-536; "Don Manuel Montt", p. 537-42; "Rómulo Mandiola", p. 543-8; "Justo Arteaga Alemparte", p. 549-56; "Don Domingo Arteaga Alemparte", p. 588-91; "Un hermoso libro. *Historia de la campaña del Perú en 1828* por Gonzalo Bulnes", p. 595-603; "*Poesías de J. A. Soffia*", p. 618-27; "Señor Don Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna", p. 628-46; "Un literato desconocido (Juan Enrique Ramírez)", p. 647-58; "*Francisco Bilbao; su vida y sus doctrinas* [By Zorabel Rodríguez]", p. 677-88; "Literatura histórica nacional", p. 721-7; "*Poesías de la Señora Doña Mercedes Marín del Solar*", p. 728-40; "Nuestros literatos", p. 746-60.

204. Blanco Encalada, Ventura. *Fábulas originales*, por Daniel Barros Grez. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XVIII. 1860, 366-7.
205. Blanco Viel, Ventura. *El último día de la Polonia*, drama histórico de Ruperto Marchant Pereira. *Est. de Ch.*, IV. 127ff.
206. ——— *Los Jesuitas y sus detractores*, de Máximo R. Lira. *Ibid.*, IV. 129.
207. ——— Prologue to *Romances Americanos*. Santiago, Imp. de El Independiente, 1871. 8°. XXXII + 306 p.

Exposition of the poverty of American literature, the scarcity of romances in America, and discussion in general terms of the contributions of Carlos Walker Martínez.

208. ——— *Historia del templo de la Compañía de Santiago de Chile i de su incendio acaecido el 8 de diciembre de 1863*, por el presbítero Mariano Casanova. *Est. de Ch.*, V. 250-4.
209. ——— *La legación de Chile en Bolivia desde setiembre de 1867 hasta fines de 1870*, por R. Sotomayor Valdés. *Ibid.*, V. 669-72.
210. ——— *Recuerdos de treinta años*, por José Zapiola. *Ibid.*, VI. 169-72.
211. ——— Introducción á la colección de artículos de Rafael B. Gumucio, intitulada *Un libro más* [Santiago, Imp. de la Estrella de Chile, 1877. 8°. XIV + 328 p.]. *Ibid.*, XII. 938ff.
212. ——— Dos libros sobre Bolivia. *Páginas de un viaje á través de la América del Sur, y El Dictador Linares*, por Carlos Walker Martínez. *Ibid.*, XIII. 96ff.
213. ——— Discurso . . . Pronunciado en honor de don Salvador Sanfuentes. See M. L. Amunátegui, *Don Salvador Sanfuentes*.
214. Blest Gana, Alberto. Guillermo Matta, *Una escena social (novela)*. *El Museo*, p. 326-8.
215. ——— De los trabajos literarios en Chile. *Sem.*, I. 51-2.
216. ——— Literatura chilena. Algunas consideraciones sobre ella. Discurso . . . en su incorporación á la Facultad de Humanidades, leído en la sesión del 3 de enero de 1861. *Anal de la Univ.*, XVIII. 81-93; and, *Rev. del Pacíf.*, IV. 418-32.



217. ——— Dos cartas sobre *El Ideal de un Calavera*. *Rev. (2) Chil.*, I. 134-8.  
The first is the famous one to Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, beginning "Un día en que leyendo á Balcac. . ."
218. Blest Gana, Guillermo. José Joaquín Vallejo. *Rev. del Pactf.*, I. 451, 2.
219. ——— Algunas reflexiones acerca del estado actual de la poesía i sus tendencias en la América Española. Discurso . . . en su incorporación a la Facultad de Humanidades, leído el 29 de abril de 1863. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XXII. 591-601.
220. Blest Gana, Joaquín. Tendencia del romance contemporáneo i estado de esta composición en Chile. *Rev. (1) de Sant.*, I. 240-50.
221. ——— Causas de la poca orijinalidad de la literatura chilena. *Ibid.*, II. 58-72.
222. ——— Consideraciones jenerales sobre la poesía chilena. *Ibid.*, II. 337-53.
223. ——— Camilo Henríquez considerado como periodista. Discurso . . . de incorporación en la Facultad de Filosofía i Humanidades de la Universidad de Chile. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1856, 329ff.
224. ——— *Memoria sobre los sucesos ocurridos desde la caída de D. Bernardo O'Higgins en 1823, hasta la promulgación de la constitución dictada en el mismo año*, por D. Domingo Santa María. *Rev. del Pactf.*, I. 489-98.
225. ——— Poesías de Guillermo Matta. *Sem.*, I. 177-80, 195-8.
226. ——— Informe crítico sobre la obra de los Señores Amunátegui intitulada *Juicio crítico sobre los principales poetas americanos*. *Ibid.*, III. 31ff.
227. ——— Juan Manuel Cobo. Discurso . . . *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1871, 2nd semes., 393ff.
228. ——— Justo Arteaga Alemparte. *Los Tiempos*. Oct. 7, 1880.
229. Bórquez Solar, Antonio. *La epopeya de Chile. La Araucana de Ercilla*. Santiago, Imp. Cervantes, 1911. 8°. 52 p.

Also published in *Anal. de la Univ.*, CXXVIII, 309-38. A lecture given at the University of Chile, in 1910, dealing with Ercilla's failure to describe nature, the characters in the *Araucana* and discussing the current conception of the cruelty of the *conquistadores*.

230. *Breve reseña biográfica y bibliográfica del Señor Ramón Briseño, basada en documentos oficiales auténticos y leída en la solemne y cariñosa manifestación de honor y gratitud que sus antiguos discípulos y amigos le hicieron en la Biblioteca Nacional de Chile el domingo 21 de noviembre de 1897, al entregar á este establecimiento, para su pública y permanente exhibición, un busto de notable parecido de este caballero . . .* Santiago de Chile, Imp. y Enc. Barcelona, 1897. 8°. 35 p.

A short sketch of the history of the National Library; Briseño as a teacher, list of his publications, and special bibliographical labor connected with the library.

231. Briceño [Briseño], Ramón. *Obras oratorias y pastorales del Ilmo. y Rvmo. Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile, señor Dr. don Mariano Casanova*. Santiago, Imp. Revista Católica, 1902. 4°. 15 p. Port. [Vaisse.]
232. Briceño [Briseño], Ramón Belisario. *Bocetos literarios (1876-1882)*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Victoria, 1882. 8°. XIII + 275 p.

Character sketches followed by brief selections. Julio Bafiados Espinosa ("Pinceladas históricas sobre la literatura nacional desde 1823 á 1849", p. 3-12); S. Escuti Orrego; M. A. Caradena; M. del Campo Yavar; D. Amunátegui Solar; A. Montt y Montt; C. L. Casanueva; F. Pardo

Duval; A. Santibáñez; A. de la Cruz; M. González Errázuriz; M. A. de la Cuadra; F. Solar Avaria; A. Roldán Álvarez; C. E. Barros; A. E. Guerra, A. A. Reyes; M. L. Amunátegui; F. V. Mesa Torres; G. and R. Gibbs, W. Allende; D. Izquierdo; P. Valdés; R. Orrego González; J. Grez; B. S. Uribe Azócar; I. S. Díaz; J. Tapia Miranda; S. Núñez Olaechea.

In the appendix (p. 265-71) he confines himself only to character sketches, including Z. Rodríguez Rosas; B. Letelier; M. M. Lobos; C. Emeterio Cerda; F. Izquierdo Vargas; J. Prieto Hurtado; P. Libane Letelier; M. Amaral; E. Clifton.

233. Bulnes Pinto, Gonzalo. Jotabeche. *Rev. (1) Chil.*, II. 164-84.

234. ——— *Episodios nacionales*, por Luis Orrego Luco, In L. Ignacio Silva, *La Novela en Chile*, p. 199. [Vaisse.]

235. Burgos Varas, Enrique. *El Congreso de 1910. Siluetas de Actualidad*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. La Ilustración, 1911. 8°. 120 p.

236. Campo, José Manuel del. *Ensayos. Recopilación de artículos biográficos*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de la Lib. Americana, 1886. 8°. 72 p.

Includes biographies of C. Henríquez, p. 17-29; P. P. Figueroa, p. 29-33; R. Vera, p. 48-54; D. F. Sarmiento, p. 55-60; and, C. Barahona Vega, p. 61-5.

237. ——— Las Letras i el Señor Juan A. Barriga. *Rev. (1) Chil.*, XV. 291-308.

238. Cannobio G., Agustín. Daniel Caldera. Rasgos biográficos. *Rev. Nueva*, I. 225-31; II. 70-82, 324-9.

——— *Estudio biográfico y crítico de Daniel Caldera (Publicada en la Revista Nueva)* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1900. 8°. 38 p.

An account of his life; synopsis of *El Tribunal del Honor*, analysis of some of the scenes, its realism; synopsis of *Arbaces ó el último Ramsés*; list of Caldera's poems; and insertion of *No despiertes* and *Niñas y Flores*.

239. ——— Intelectualidad de Chile, p. 413-59 of E. Poirier, *Chile en 1910*. [Santiago, Imp. Lit. y Enc. Barcelona, 1910. 4°. X + 400 p. + 554 p. Illus.]

240. ——— La poesía moderna en Chile. *Vida Moderna* of Montevideo. Second Series, 1910-11, II. 83-91.

241. Carlos, Pedro J. Una novela de Alberto del Solar (*El Faro*). *Rev. Nueva*, VI. 279-83.

242. ——— Una Novela i un libro de versos [*Hipatia* by Bruno Larraín Barra and *Savia Joven* by Luis Galdames]. *Ibid.*, VI. 439-44.

243. ——— La vida literaria. *Brumas*, por Miguel Luis Rocuant. *Ibid.*, VII. 68-74.

244. ——— La vida literaria. *Juana Lucero (Vicios de Chile)*, por Augusto Thomson, *Ibid.*, VII. 248-55.

245. Carmona, Manuel Guillermo. Algo sobre teatro y revista teatral. *Rev. de S. A.*, I. 123-8.

246. ——— Escritos póstumos de don Ramón Luis Irarrázabal, *Ibid.*, I. 745-6.

247. ——— Salvador Sanfuentes. *Rev. del Pacíf.*, III. 49-60.

248. Caro, Manuel A. Algo sobre Andrés Bello. *Rev. (1) de Ch.*, I. 210ff.

249. ——— Pensamientos y obras de Bello. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1884, 25ff.

250. Caro R., José María. Don José Ramón Saavedra. Impresiones personales. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, XII. 375-8.

251. Carrasco, Aliro. *Letras hispano-americanas desde la época colonial hasta nuestros días*. Santiago, Imp. Chilena, MCMXIX. 8°. XVII + 475 p.

Brief biographies of the principal writers of Spanish America, listing and characterizing their most important works. Chile naturally receives fullest treatment (p. 199-437). After a preliminary chapter on the Chilean people, the author takes up the conquest, colonial period, period of the struggle for independence and the Republic. Necessarily incomplete on account of limited space. The prologue is by Aurelio Martínez Mutia.

252. Casanova, Mariano. Manuel Frutos Rodríguez. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1886, 332ff.
253. Castro, Diego de. *Biografía de don Camilo Ortúzar. Sacerdote de la Pía Sociedad de San Francisco de Sales*. Santiago de Chile, Esc. Tall. Gratiitud Nacional, 1909. 130 × 80 mm. 190 p. [*Anuario de la Prensa Chilena*.]
254. Cobo, Camilo E. Biografía de don Pío Varas Marín. Discurso leído . . . en el acto de incorporarse á la Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades de la Universidad de Chile, en Junio de 1871. *Est. de Ch.*, V. 185-8.
255. Concha y Castillo, Francisco A. Discurso . . . *Bol. de la Acad. Chil.*, I. 339-62.

Deals briefly with the works of his predecessor, E. de la Barra; and then develops the following theme, "Nuestra poesía . . . reviste, por lo general, caracteres propios de la escuela genuinamente castellana."

256. *Corona fúnebre á la memoria del ilustrísimo señor obispo de la Serena Dr. D. Ramón Ángel Jara*. Buenos Aires, Tall. Gráficos Casa Jacobo Peuser, 1918. 4°. 281 p. + Ind.

Intro. by Jaime Roselló J., p. 11-17; "Muerte y funerales", p. 21-42; "Oraciones fúnebres", p. 45-85; "Juicios de la prensa", p. 89-142; "Artículos necrológicos", p. 143-206; and "Veladas fúnebres", etc. p. 207ff.

257. *Corona fúnebre á la memoria de D. Clemente Barahona Vega, 1863-1918*. Publicada por Leonardo Eliz. Valparaíso, Imp. y Enc. Roma, 1919. 8°. 199 p. Two port.

In addition to the usual press notices, etc. there is a detailed biography of thirty-six pages by Leonardo Eliz.

258. *Corona fúnebre á la memoria de Don Benjamín Dávila Larraín. Homenaje de la 5a Compañía de Bomberos*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1899. 4°. 238 p. Port.

Articles by José A. Alfonso, Eduardo Guerrero Vergara, Ismael Valdés Vergara, Alcibíades Roldán (p. 99-156) contain a considerable amount of information about Dávila Larraín.

259. *Corona fúnebre á la memoria de Don Manuel Antonio Matta*. Santiago, Imp. Gutenberg, 1893. 8°. 559 p. Port.

Contains considerably more information than the usual *Corona fúnebre*. Perhaps the two most important articles are "Rasgos biográficos" (p. 95-105), from *La Patria* of Iquique, June 23, 1892, and an account of Matta's life and works (p. 340-86) by Jorje Huneus.

260. *Corona fúnebre á la memoria del Dr. Don Adolfo Murillo, 1838-1899*. Publicada en el primer aniversario de su fallecimiento por Alberto Arredondo G. y Clemente Barahona Vega. Santiago de Chile, Imp. y Lit. Esmeralda, 1900. 8°. LV + 197 p. Port.

Pages XV-LV, "Silueta del Dr. Murillo", by Clemente Barahona Vega. The body of the book contains scattered biographical detail but no more complete biography than that from P. P. Figueroa's *Diccionario* which is inserted on p. 72-4.

261. *Corona fúnebre á la memoria de Don Zorababel Rodríguez en el primer aniversario de su fallecimiento*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1902. 8°. 446 p.

Contains the biography which was published in Fuenzalida's *Galerta*, an account of the funeral and newspaper clippings. Relatively few facts.

262. *Corona fúnebre á la memoria del Señor Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1886. 8°. 402 p.

Press notices from Chile and abroad with some bits of information scattered through the usual eulogy. Preceded by an introduction by Julio Bañados Espinosa and a biography of Vicuña Mackenna published in 1875 by Justo Arteaga Alemparte, (q. v.).

263. *Corona fúnebre á la memoria de Don Carlos Walker Martínez. Octubre 5 de 1905*. Santiago de Chile, Soc. Imp. y Lit. Universo, 1906. 4°. 589 p.

Funeral orations and homage of Chilean and foreign press. A few biographical details scattered here and there but difficult to find.

264. Coronel, Rafael. *El trovador paladín*, por A. Bórquez Solar. *Juventud*, I. No. 4, 91-2.

265. Cortés, José Domingo. *Poetas chilenos . . .* Santiago, Imp. de la Unión Americana, 1864. 4°. IX + 264 p.

An anthology in which the selections are preceded by a brief biography of their author. Fourteen portraits pasted in. The poets included are G. Matta, E. Lillo, M. Marín del Solar, H. de Irisarri, M. A. Matta, R. Orrego de Uribe, G. Blest Gana, L. Rodríguez Velasco, B. Vicuña Solar, D. Arteaga Alemparte, I. Errázuriz, E. de la Barra, M. Blanco Cuartín, M. José Lira, C. Walker Martínez, and E. Bello.

266. ———. *Parnaso chileno*. Santiago, Imp. de la República, 1871. 4°. II + 437 p.

An anthology with very brief (15 to 20 lines) biographies of twenty poets.

267. ———. *Biografía americana o galería de poetas célebres de Chile—Bolivia—Perú—Ecuador—Nueva Granada—Venezuela—Méjico—Uruguai—R. Argentina*. Santiago, Imp. de El Independiente, 1871. 4°. VIII + 235 p.

Summary biographies (about one page each) with but few concrete facts. The Chileans included are D. Arteaga Alemparte, E. de la Barra, E. Bello, M. Blanco Cuartín, G. Blest Gana, I. Errázuriz, H. de Irisarri, Martín J. Lira, E. Lillo, M. Marín de Solar, G. Matta, R. Orrego de Uribe, L. Rodríguez Velasco, Z. Rodríguez, S. Sanfuentes, J. A. Soffia, E. del Solar, P. Varas Marín, and C. Walker Martínez.

268. ———. *América poética. Poestas selectas americanas con noticias biográficas de los autores*. París, Lib. de A. Bouret é hijo, [1875]. 4°. 823 p.

Chileans included are A. Bello, J. Chacón, H. Irisarri, E. Lillo, M. Marín del Solar, and S. Sanfuentes.



269. ——— *Diccionario biográfico americano*. Paris, Tip. Lahure, 1875. 8°. XII + 552 p.

Brief biographies of men in the Northern and Southern continents.

270. Covarrubias, Luis. *La mano de Diós*, por Fernán Alledor; *La batalla de Rancagua, sus antecedentes y sus consecuencias*, por Julio Bafiados Espinosa; *Rogar con fé*, por Domingo Antonio Izquierdo. *Rev. de A. y L.*, II. 361-75.
271. ——— *La Biblioteca Chilena*. *Ibid.*, III. 214-20, 364-70.
272. ——— *Revista literaria*. *Reoglones cortos* [by Alfredo Irarrázaval Z.]; *El ideal de una esposa* [by Vicente Grez]. *Ibid.*, XI. 136-9. Also published in *Estudios críticos*.
273. ——— *La fundación del teatro nacional*. *Ibid.*, XII. 94-106. See *Estudios críticos*.
274. ——— *Don José Joaquín de Mora*, por Miguel Luis Amunátegui. *Ibid.*, XII. 199-207. Also published in *Estudios críticos*.
275. ——— *El rigor de la corneta* [Novel by Arturo Givovich]. *Ibid.*, XII. 553-8. Also in *Estudios críticos*.
276. ——— *Las primeras representaciones dramáticas en Chile*, por M. L. Amunátegui. *Ibid.*, XIII. 89-99. Also published in *Estudios* . . .
277. ——— *Estudios críticos*. *Colección de artículos*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de El Progreso, 1888. 8°. 204 p.

*Penas que malan*. Novel of customs by A. Silva de la Fuente.—*Poetas*, by Simón Cordoves.—*Acentuaciones viciosas*, by M. L. Amunátegui.—*Un desaparecido*, novel by Valentín Murillo.—“Novela ó tradición”. Discussion of *Las hadas del Andalién*, by E. del Solar.—*Reoglones cortos*, poems by Alfredo Irarrázaval Z.—*El ideal de una esposa*, novel by Vicente Grez.—“Palique”. The literary production of his day and the attitude of the public.—“Discurso sobre la ropa hecha”. This picturesque expression he applies to the stereotyped manner of writing up deaths, dinners, political news, etc.—“Literatura oficial”. Unfavorable criticism of other “ready made” literature.—“La fundación del teatro nacional”. State of the theater in Santiago, character of the public and the need of a purely national theater.—*Don José Joaquín de Mora*, by M. L. Amunátegui.—*El rigor de la corneta*, historical novel by A. Givovich.—*Lo que no tiene sancion*, drama in three acts and in verse by Antonio Espiñeira.—*Las primeras representaciones dramáticas en Chile*, by M. L. Amunátegui.—“El Centro de Artes y Letras”. A literary club founded in 1888. Its importance and value.—*Huincahual*, Araucanian legend by Alberto del Solar.

278. Creso Jones, Julio. *Crítica literaria*. *La Colombia*, poema épico del Pdo. Don Esteban Muñoz Donoso. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, XII. 364-70.
279. Cruz, Domingo Benigno. *La glorificación de D. José Victorino Lastarria y de sus doctrinas*. *De la Historia del Iltmo. Señor Salas y de su Época Chilena*. Santiago, Imp. Chile, 1916. 16°. 62 p. [*Rev. de Bibl.*]
280. Cruz Ocampo, Luis D. [“Licenciado Vidriera”]. *Misa cruel*, novela del Señor [Nataniel] Yáñez Silva. *Juventud*, II. No. 7, 132-7.
281. ——— *El feminismo de Vera Zouroff*. *Ibid.*, II. No. 8, 140-7.
282. ——— *Venidos á menos* [by R. Maluenda]; *De mi tierra* (by F. Zapata Lillo). *Ibid.*, II. No. 3, 151-7.
283. ——— *La sombra de Goethe* [by A. Donoso]. *Ibid.*, III. No. 5, 259-63.
284. ——— *Días de campo* [by F. Gana; *Pequeña antología de poetas chilenos*. *Ibid.*, IV. No. 8, 343-50.
285. Cruz, Pedro Nolasco. *Pláticas literarias, 1886-1889*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1889. 8°. 404 p. + Ind.

"*Arauco domado*", (p. 37-60), pokes fun at the poem and at J. T. Medina's treatment of it in his *Historia de la literatura colonial*. Pub. in *R. de A. y L.* VI. 1886.

286. ——— *Don Carlos Walker Martínez*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. y Enc. Barcelona, 1904. 8°. 248 p. Port.

An anecdotal biography.

287. ——— *Estudios críticos sobre don J. Victorino Lastarria*. Santiago, Lib. y Casa Editorial de la Fed. de Obras Católicas Imp. Chile, 1917. 150 × 90 mm. 86 p. [*Rev. de Bibl.*]

288. ——— Nuestra literatura á principios del siglo XX. Los cuentos. *Rev. (2) Chil.*, VIII. 225-31.

289. ——— *Don Joaquín Edwards Bello. El Roto y sus demás obras*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1920. Pamphlet of 16 p.

Originally published in *El Diario Ilustrado*. After prefatory remarks about Blasco Ibáñez as writer and critic [A letter from him appears in the preface to *El Roto*] the author severely criticises the novels, *El Inútil*, *El Monstruo* and *El Roto* for their obscenity and anti-catholicism.

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(To be continued.)

## NOTES

At the December meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, Dr. Hayward Keniston, of Cornell University, suggested to the present writer the desirability of preparing a union list of periodicals published in or relating to Hispanic America. The value of such a list is very obvious. Periodicals have a special value as source material for the study of literary, political, and social history of the republics to the south. Complete sets are difficult to obtain, and it may be said with authority that when occasional sets do appear in the market, it is at a high price. A union list, made as inclusive as possible, would not only locate the material for the student, but it would facilitate intelligent cooperation among libraries in obtaining expensive items. Dr. Keniston has transmitted to the writer a list of material at Cornell and of that listed in the Catalogue of the Ticknor Collection. This list will, as soon as possible, be checked up with the addition of partial or complete sets in the libraries of the District of Columbia, and then will be sent to some other cooperative library for similar treatment. The undersigned will be glad to hear from others who are willing to assist in this compilation, or who have suggestions to make regarding its accomplishment.—C. K. JONES, Library of Congress.

Dr. Charles E. Chapman has recently published through the Macmillan Company *A History of California: Spanish Period*. The history is brought down from the earliest times since the known history of the region began and finishes "the local annals of Spanish California carried through to the end of Mexican rule". A companion book written by Dr. Robert G. Cleland, of Occidental College, will also soon appear, which will "tell the story of those events which pushed irresistibly toward the ultimate acquisition of California by the United States". Both volumes will be reviewed in this periodical. Dr. Chapman has recently published articles as follows: "A Monroe Doctrine divided", in *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1922; "How Baseball is becoming popular in Mexico", in *Baseball Magazine*, March, 1922; "La Política Exterior de los Estados Unidos como Demostración de su Vida Interna", in *El Mercurio* (Santiago, Chile), Sep-

tember 5, 1920; "South America: its Lands, its Peoples, and its Problems" (Foreign Trade Lecture Course, Lecture no. 43, San Francisco, 1919); "Una Tierra Romántica (California)", in *América* (Santiago), September 21, and October 5, 1920; "The Treasure Galleons": being the Romantic Story of the First trans-Pacific Line to Manila", in *Sunset*, February, 1921; "Complete Information for the Traveler in Mexico", to appear in *American Year Book*.

Dr. Isaac Goldberg, well known for his important contributions to the study of Hispanic American letters, especially for his notable *Studies in Hispanic American Literature*, and his translations of Blanco-Fombona's *The man of greed* and Lorenzo Marroquín's *Pax*, has recently made a further contribution to the literature in this field by the publication of *Brazilian Tales translated from the Portuguese, with an introduction* (Boston, The Four Seas Co., 1921, pp. 149). In the preliminary remarks, Dr. Goldberg, with that luminous style and thoroughness of the sympathetic understanding which characterize his studies, presents the salient features of Brazilian literature and briefly outlines the work of some of the more prominent authors. The translations include three stories by Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, namely: "The attendant's confession", "The fortune teller", and "Life"; and "The vengeance of Felix", by José Medeiros e Albuquerque; "The pigeons", by Coelho Betto; and "Aunt Zeze's tears", by Carmen Dolores. The authors from whom the selections have been taken have attained wide recognition, and the translator has performed a real service in making possible to English readers even so slight an acquaintance with the extensive literature of Brazil and the cultural atmosphere of Hispanic America.—C. K. JONES.

Sr. D. José E. Machado, the wellknown Venezuelan scholar and man of letters, has compiled a small collection of old Venezuelan poems. This he has entitled *Viejos Cantos y Viejos Cantores*. (Caracas, Tipografía Americana, 1921, pp. xxviii, 122). It is described as a "Compilación de varias composiciones, en su mayor parte desconocidas u olvidadas, con notas históricas y literarias", and it is intended as a "Contribución al Folk-lore venezolano". The poems or songs are preceded by a useful historical literary essay. The twenty nine selections are mostly those which arose from some wellknown incident, and some of them have considerable historical value because of that fact. The compiler has enriched the volume with excellent historical-



literary notes. The book, which is the product of wide research, is dedicated to "Don Eduardo Posada, distinguido historiador colombiano", and is an "Homenaje a sus virtudes y talento".

Mrs. Zelia Nuttall has recently published interesting papers as follows: "Los jardines del antiguo México", in the *Société Scientifique "Antonio Alzate"*—*Mémoires*, T. 37, reprinted separately in 1920; "Algunos datos sobre Hernan Cortes y su primera esposa Doña Catalina Xuarez", published in the above volume and published separately in 1920; and "Francisco Cervantes de Salazar", published in the *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris*, Nouvelle série, XIII. 1921, also published in separate form. The last consists of interesting and valuable bibliographical notes in English.

Dr. J. Fred Rippy's articles on "Literary Yankeeophobia in Hispanic America", the first of which appears in the January number of *The Journal of International Relations*, are interesting and timely. Therein the author examines the attitude and sentiments toward the United States of prominent Hispanic American intellectuals and publicists, illustrating his statements with extensive excerpts translated from the authors he studies. In the interests of international understanding and appreciation, it is well to see ourselves as our southern neighbors see us, and to seek to comprehend the cultural and political basis of their formulated and expressed opinions. The same number of the abovenamed review contains also an article by Elbridge Colby, namely, "The United States and the Coto dispute".—C. K. JONES.

Dr. William Spence Robertson is preparing a one-volume work to be entitled *History of the Latin American Nations*. This volume will give a survey of the Hispanic American peoples from the period of the Incas to the present time. At least two chapters will be devoted to contemporary conditions. Original maps and a bibliography will be features of the volume, which is intended for use by the general reader and as a textbook in college and university classes. The book will be published shortly by D. Appleton and Co.

Sr. Don Salomon de la Selva, who wrote an article for this REVIEW treating of Central American Union, has published (1922) a poem entitled *El Soldado Desconocido*. The volume is the fourteenth of the series "Cultura" being published by México Moderno, of the City of Mexico.

Students interested in international law will find extensive bibliographical lists in *Latin-American Commercial Law*, by Toribio Esquivel Obregón, with the collaboration of Edwin M. Borchard (New York, Banks Law Publishing Co., 1921, pp. xxiii, 927).

*Congreso de Angostura: Libro de actas* (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1921, pp. xvi, 330), was published by Roberto Cortázar and Luis Augusto Cuervo, voting members of the Academia Nacional de Historia de Colombia. These important "Actas" had never before been published, although they contain so much of interest to Colombia and Venezuela especially, as well as to other South American states. This is another source book which students of Hispanic America are glad to have. The "Actas" are preceded by an introduction written by the editors. The work forms vol. XXXIV. of the series "Biblioteca de Historia Nacional". The other volumes of the series are well worth consultation.

The Institute of International Education publishes as Bulletin No. 6, in its second series, Syllabus No. VII, entitled *Hispanic-American History, 1826-1920*, by William Whateley Pierson, Jr. (New York, 1921, pp. 36). This will receive more extended mention in a future issue of the REVIEW.

Señor Constantino Suárez has rendered a useful service in the preparation of his *Vocabulario Cubano, suplemento a la 14ª edición del Diccionario de la R. A. de la Lengua. Comprende 6828 voces o acepciones, 321 frases, 52 refranes* (Habana, 1921, pp. xxx, 576). Cuban provincialisms are from proximity of special interest and Señor Suárez's work will form an excellent reference work, complementing the *Diccionario Provincial* of Pichardo, the third edition of which was published in 1862, and the *Lexicografía Antillana, Diccionario de Voces usadas por los Aborígenes*.—C. K. JONES.

The *Report of the Collector-General of Customs for the period of January 1, 1920, to December 31, 1920, and the statistics of commerce of 1920*, is a pamphlet of 89 pages which was published in Managua, in 1921. This report was "submitted to the Honorable Minister of Finance and Public Credit, Republic of Nicaragua, and the Honorable Secretary of State, United States of America". There is some text, but the pamphlet consists mainly of tables.

The University of Tucumán published in 1920 a book entitled *Córdoba, Tucumán, Salta y Jujuy en 1826 por Edmundo Temple* (Buenos Aires, Imprenta y Casa Editora "Coni", pp. 232), consisting of chapters taken from Edmund Temple's book *Travels in various parts of Peru* (London, 1830), translated into Spanish by Jaime Noguera, and prefaced by Juan B. Terán.

It is reported that the second volume of Professor Leo Wiener's work on certain origins of America (*Africa and the Discovery of America*) is already in page proof and may be expected to issue from the press in two or three months. The manuscript for the third volume will probably be ready about April 1, and should issue from the press before the end of the year. Volume II. gives the results of further research on tobacco and smoking; a study on cotton, which it is believed was of Arabico-African origin; and a study of shell and bead money among the aborigines of America. Volume III. will deal almost exclusively with the Arabico-African features of religious customs among the aborigines of America.

*Mujeres notables de Sud América: Flora Cavalcanti Albuquerque Mello de Oliveira Lima*, by E. S. Zeballos (Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos Schenone Hnos. y Linari, 1921, pp. 6) is reprinted from *Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras*, vol. LVII, año XXIII. He sketches very briefly the ancestry of Senhora de Oliveira Lima, who is a brilliant member of one of the most illustrious families of Brazil, and the wife of Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, the eminent Brazilian historian, now a resident of Washington.

In addition to Chapman's *A History of California* (noted elsewhere in this number), Trowbridge Hall publishes through the Macmillan Company, *California Trails, Intimate Guide to the Old Missions*.

Among recent books are two on Mexico, namely: *The Mexican Mind* (Little, Brown & Co.), by Wallace Thompson (author of *The People of Mexico*), and *Mexico and its Reconstruction*, by Chester Lloyd Jones.

Richard G. Badger has recently brought out *The Land Beyond Mexico*, by Rhys Carpenter. *Problems in Pan Americanism* (George H. Doran Company), is a serious discussion of relations and values

between the United States and Hispanic America. The Philippines are represented by two new books, both published by the Century Co., namely, Francis Burton Harrison's *The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence*, and Charles Edward Russell's *The Outlook for the Philippines*. E. Alexander Powell's *Asia at the Crossroads*, published by the same company, contains a section on the Philippines also. Notable among books published in South America is Manoel de Oliveira Lima's *Historia de Civilização*, published in São Paulo by the Editora-Proprietaria Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo. These books will be reviewed in later issues of this REVIEW.

*The American Historical Review*, for January, 1922, contains an article by Dexter Perkins entitled "Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine". There is also a review of Julius Klein's *Mesta*.

The *Boletín de la Universidad* (Mexico, 1921, pp. 408, epoch IV, vol. III, no. 7), contains, among other material, the following: "Nueva ley de los tres estados", by José Vasconcelos; "Departamento Universitario y de Bellas Artes," by C. Álvaro Obregón (fragment); "El Primer Congreso Internacional de Estudiantes"; "La Federación de Intelectuales Latinoamericanos"; "Carta de Unamuno a la juventud argentina"; "Los Juegos florales de la Universidad Nacional"; "La Campaña contra el Analfabetismo"; "Los Trabajos realizados por el Museo Nacional en Septiembre"; "La XXVI Exposición de Bellas Artes"; "En el VI centenario de la muerte de Dante Alighieri"; "Por el triunfo del espíritu", by Ricardo Gómez Robelo; "En el aniversario de Barreda", by Miguel S. Macedo; "Los Artes aborígenes mexicanas," by Miguel O. de Mendizábal; "La Vergüenza de América: Gómez y los Venezolanos", carta y documentos a los Comités Latino-Americanos de Nueva York, por un Ex-Secuestrado de la cárcel de la Rotunda en Caracas; and "El Nacionalismo Japonés", by Rabindranath Tagore.

The *National Geographic Magazine* for February, 1922, is devoted entirely to Hispanic America. In this excellent issue are found the following: "Costa Rica, the land of the banana", by Paul B. Popenoe; "The Foremost intellectual achievements of ancient America", by Sylvanus Griswold Morley; "The Haunts of the Caribbean corsairs", by Nell Ray Clarke; and "The Jungle of Panama", by David Fairchild. This issue also contains a map of the countries and regions of the Caribbean.



The *Revista de Economía Argentina*, for December, 1921, contains three valuable articles on the economic situation in Argentina, namely: "El Cambio y la crisis", by Mauricio Bunge; "La Crisis y la caja de conversión"; and "El dólar contra el peso", by Gustavo Martínez Zuviria. The number for January, 1922, in addition to the usual economic statistics, notes, and reports, contains three important articles, namely: "La Evolución contemporánea de la política económica de las repúblicas americanas hacia el nacionalismo proteccionista", by Guillermo Subercasseaux; "Política comercial y económica en el mundo después de la guerra", by R. A. Ramm-Domán; and "El Problema del cambio en el Perú y el alza del cambio sobre Nueva York", by Oscar F. Arrús.—C. K. JONES.

The *Revista Mexicana de Derecho Internacional*, for September, 1921, contains articles as follows: "Estudio sobre le procedencia del amparo", por Gene o Fernández-Mac-Gregor; "La Independencia de México y el derecho internacional", by José López Portillo y Rojas; "Nueva ley de los tres estados", by José Vasconcelos; y "Puede un estado exigir de otro 'manu militari' el pago de deudas contraídas en favor suyo o de sus ciudadanos", by Fererico Sáenz de Tejada. In addition, it contains sections devoted to bibliography, international chronicles, and international politics.—C. K. JONES.

The *Revista de Puerto Rico* began publication in San Juan, October, 1921, under the editorship of the wellknown publicist, Señor José Coll Cuchí. It is a monthly publication, each number containing a hundred pages or more, and covers a general field of information, science, history, politics, literature, and art. The first number "is devoted solely to the reproduction of certain documents and articles of recent publication relating to the actions of the present governor general of Porto Rico—without editorial comment". The new review is a valuable exponent of Porto Rican culture, economic history, and political conditions.—C. K. JONES.

The *Revista del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay* (Montevideo), is edited by Gustavo Gallinal and Mario Falco Espalter. The second number of the first volume, that for June, 1921, has recently appeared. This number, a book of almost 400 pages, is a notable addition to the history of Uruguay. The *Revista* contains the following material: "Alto Cuareim y su cuenca", by Silvestre Mato; "Arti-

gas y Bolívar" (letter from Artigas to Bolívar); "Arquitectura colonial"; "Cartas científicas de Larañaga", by Mario Falco Espalter; "Una Casa histórica", by Gustavo Gallinal; "La Constitución española de 1812 en Montevideo", by Gustavo Gallinal; "Dardo Estrada", by Joaquín de Salterain; "Un Falso retrato del General Robles.—Sobre iconografía paraguaya", by J. M. Fernández Saldaña; El Fuerte de Santa Teresa" (part II), by Horacio Arredondo (hijo); La Primera moneda de cuño nacional, 1840", by Francisco N. Oliveres; and "Semblanzas literarias: Esteban Echeverría", by Héctor Villagrán Bustamante. Sections are devoted to official documents and to book reviews. The opening article in the number is the memorial address which was pronounced on May 11, 1920, in the Central Cemetery of Montevideo. It will be remembered that the issue of this REVIEW for November, 1919, published Sr. Estrada's "Fuentes documentales para la historia colonial" in an English dress under the title "Documentary sources for colonial history". This paper had been read before the Instituto Histórico y Geográfico, on July 28, 1917. Sr. Estrada was assistant director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Montevideo, and was known in two continents for his scholarly work.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,  
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

OF THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, published quarterly at Baltimore, Maryland, for April 1, 1922.

City of Washington, }  
District of Columbia } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the city and District aforesaid, personally appeared James A. Robertson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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JAMES A. ROBERTSON,  
*Managing Editor.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March, 1922.

[SEAL.]

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(My commission expires July 23, 1923.)



